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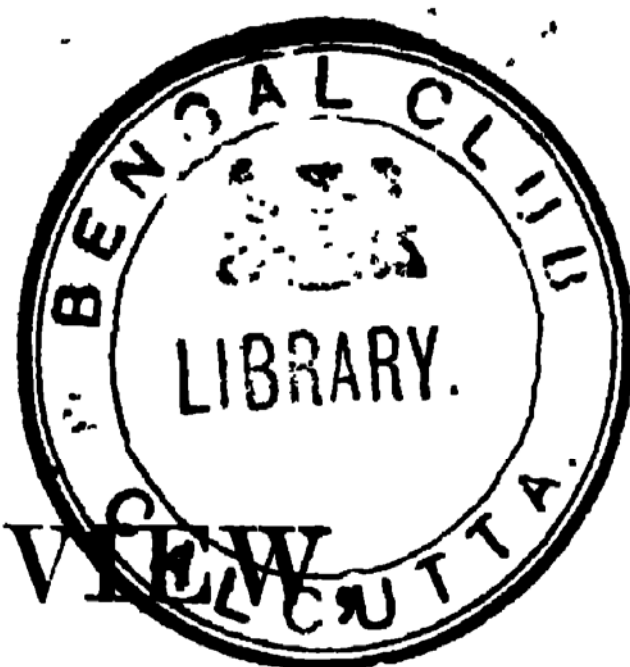
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2. *The Alaskan Boundary.* By the Hon. JOHN W. FOSTER, Ex-Secretary of State of the United States. 'The National Geographic Magazine' for November 1899. Washington.

3. *Alaska and the Klondike.* By ANGELO HEILPRIN, F.R.G.S., F.G.S.A., Professor of Geology at the Academy of Sciences at Philadelphia. London: 1899.

THE questions at issue between Great Britain and the United States in respect of the Alaska boundary are not new, though for many years the remoteness of the region, and the general ignorance which prevailed in regard to the character and resources of the disputed territory, prevented the subject from attracting attention outside a narrow circle. Nor even now can there be said to be much knowledge of it gone abroad, especially in the United States, whose press, for the most part, betrays a lack of acquaintance with the facts material to the controversy, quite incompatible with its intelligent discussion. It may be useful, therefore, if we, in regard to a somewhat intricate matter, give, in a necessarily condensed form, an account of what is commonly known as the Alaska boundary question.

The territory in dispute is a strip of land, so far as at present known of small inherent value, bordering the north-west coast of America, between latitude 55° and 60°. No con-

siderable deposits of gold or other minerals have been found therein. The extremely rugged formation of the country renders intercommunication difficult. Its rivers are navigable only by steamers of light draught, while the climate is such that neither cereals nor fruits can be successfully cultivated. Indeed, with the exception of a week or so in the months of May and September, the sun rarely pierces the mantle of fog and mist which envelopes this inhospitable coast.

This strip is deeply indented by inlets, one of which, called the Lynn Canal, forms the natural gateway to the newly discovered Canadian gold-fields of the Yukon. In this circumstance lies the immediate importance of the Alaska boundary controversy. Lynn Canal, or channel, penetrates the mountains bordering the western coast and runs eighty miles into the interior. At about sixty miles from the ocean it bifurcates, forming two inlets, the Chilkat and the Chilkoot, each receiving rivers at its head. The valleys of these rivers lead to the passes affording access to the British hinterland beyond. While the boundary line is contested at almost every point throughout its entire length, the interest of the question for the moment centres in the heads of the Lynn Canal.

The United States claim that the international boundary runs round the heads of all inlets, including the Lynn Canal, and that, consequently, the three ports of Dyea, Skagway, and Pyramid Harbour, at the mouth of the Taiya, Skagway, and Chilkat rivers respectively, are within American territory. The Canadians contend that the dividing line crosses the Lynn Canal within thirty miles from its mouth, leaving the whole upper part well within British jurisdiction. So long as the hinterland was believed to be valueless no one cared much how it was reached, but with the announcement of gold discoveries in the Klondike region the means of access thereto became at once an object of actual and pressing concern.

In the year 1867 the United States purchased Alaska from Russia for 1,440,000*l*. As manifestly Russia could only convey to the United States that of which she stood possessed at the date of sale, it becomes important to ascertain on what her title to Alaska was founded. This the treaty of cession itself discloses, for Article 1 declares that 'the eastern limit (of the territory of Alaska) is the line of demarcation between the Russian and the British possessions in North America as established by the convention between Russia and Great Britain of February 28, 1825.'

‘1825.’ Before quoting the language of the treaty, it may be well briefly to recall the circumstances which led to its negotiation.

Scarce two hundred years have elapsed since the advance guard of the Cossack horde commissioned by Peter the Great to explore and conquer the north-eastern portion of Asia reached Kamschatka and penetrated to the shores of the Pacific Ocean. Within fifteen years thereafter the whole of this immense region was incorporated in the Russian Empire. These vast acquisitions served but to incite the ambitious Czar to further conquest. Vessels were built at Kamschatka by his command, and expeditions led forth by Behring, Tchiricoff, and other explorers, planted the Russian flag at various places along the north-west coast of America. The Russian traders, who followed in their wake, speedily established trading posts on the Aleutian Islands, and gradually crept down the coast.

At this period the most uncertain notions prevailed as to the nature of the connexion between America and Asia. To Captain Cook belongs the honour of having made known the true conformation of that distant shore and the relative proximity of the two continents. His journals, first published in 1784–5, captivated public attention by their accounts of the numbers of fur-bearing animals in the waters and along the coasts of the North Pacific Ocean, and the high prices paid for their skins in China.* The excitement became contagious, and soon a host of rival traders—English, French, Portuguese, East Indian, and American—flocked to those northern seas.

In 1799 an association of Siberian merchants was granted a charter by the Emperor Paul, under the title of the ‘Russian American Company.’ To this association was given for twenty years the exclusive enjoyment of the north-west coast as far south as the 55th degree of north latitude, in virtue of alleged discovery by Russian navigators. These privileges were subsequently confirmed and extended by the Emperor Alexander, under whose protection the power and influence of the Russian American Company, to which had been entrusted the control and management of the country, rapidly increased.

This assumption of sovereignty on the part of Russia over that portion of the coast lying between the 55th and 60th degrees conflicted with prior claims of Great Britain and Spain to the same region.* The Russians, however, continued to encroach, and, not content with

claiming jurisdiction on land, sought to extend their dominion over the sea as well.

On September 1st, 1821, the Emperor Alexander issued an imperial ukase, in which the whole west coast of America north of the 51st parallel was declared to belong exclusively to Russia, foreign ships being prohibited from approaching within 100 Italian miles of the shore under penalty of confiscation.

Great Britain and the United States at once protested against this assumption of exclusive sovereignty over the territories described in the ukase, as well as against the claim to a monopoly of navigation and trade within the maritime limits therein set forth. Out of this protest grew the treaty of 1825, by which Russia abandoned her extravagant pretensions as regards the high seas, and withdrew on land within the limits prescribed in Articles III. and IV. of the treaty, which read as follows:—

‘III. La ligne de démarcation entre les possessions des Hautes Parties Contractantes sur la côte du continent et les îles de l’Amérique nord-ouest sera tracée ainsi qu’il suit :

‘A partir du point le plus méridional de l’île dite Prince of Wales, lequel point se trouve sous la parallèle du 54^e degré 40 minutes de latitude nord, et entre le 131^e et le 133^e degré de longitude ouest (méridien de Greenwich), ladite ligne remontera au nord le long de la passe dite Portland Channel, jusqu’au point de la terre ferme où elle atteint le 56^e degré de latitude nord : de ce dernier point la ligne de démarcation suivra la crête des montagnes situées parallèlement à la côte, jusqu’au point d’intersection du 141^e degré de longitude ouest (même méridien) ; et finalement, dudit point d’intersection, la même ligne méridienne du 141^e degré formera, dans son prolongement jusqu’à la Mer Glaciale, la limite entre les possessions Russes et Britanniques sur le continent de l’Amérique nord-ouest.

‘IV. Il est entendu, par rapport à la ligne de démarcation déterminée dans l’Article précédent :

‘1. Que l’île dite Prince of Wales appartiendra tout entière à la Russie :

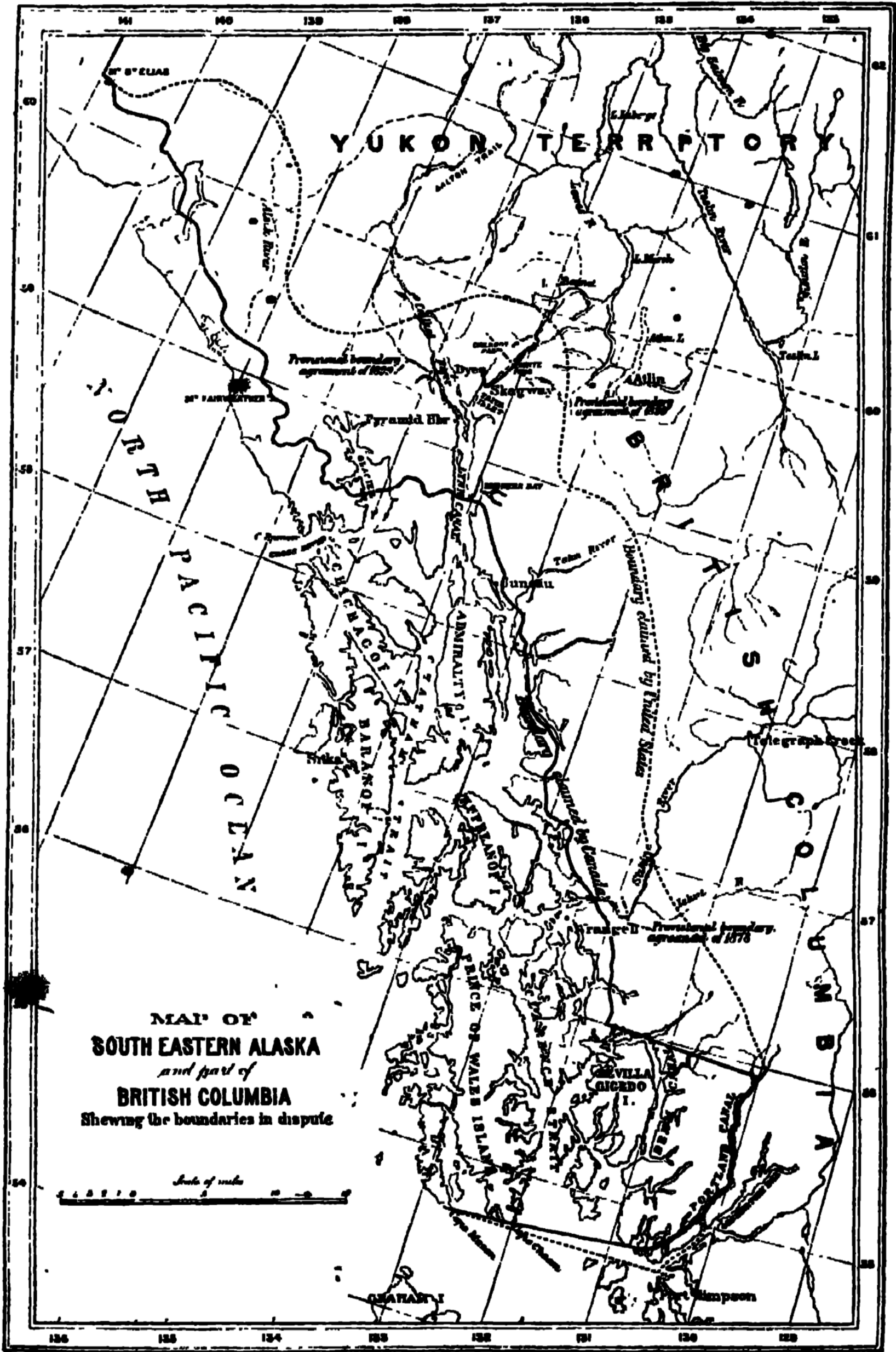
‘2. Que partout où la crête des montagnes qui s’étendent dans une direction parallèle à la côte depuis le 56^e degré de latitude nord au point d’intersection du 141^e degré de longitude ouest, se trouveroit à la distance de plus de 10 lieues marines de l’océan, la limite entre les possessions Britanniques et la lisière de côte mentionnée ci-dessus comme devant appartenir à la Russie, sera formée par une ligne parallèle aux sinuosités de la côte, et qui ne pourra jamais en être éloignée que de 10 lieues marines.’

The questions at issue between Great Britain and the United States turn upon the interpretation of the language of this treaty of 1825

1900.

The Alaska Boundary.

For many years after its discovery the chief interest in the north-west coast of America lay in its maritime wealth,



comparatively little importance being attached by England or Russia to the delimitation of their respective jurisdictions on land. The whole negotiations which led to the treaty of 1825 grew out of an attempt on the part of Russia to circumscribe the sea:—

‘So entirely and absolutely true is this proposition,’ writes Mr. Canning, who as Foreign Minister had charge of the negotiations, ‘that the settlement of the limits of the respective possessions of Great Britain and Russia on the north-west coast of America was proposed by us only as a mode of facilitating the adjustment of the difference arising from the ukase by enabling the Court of Russia, under cover of the more comprehensive arrangement, to withdraw, with less appearance of concession, the offensive pretensions of that edict.’

‘It is comparatively indifferent to us whether we hasten or postpone all questions respecting the limits of territorial possession on the continent of America, but the pretensions of the Russian ukase of 1821 to exclusive dominion over the Pacific could not continue longer unrepealed without compelling us to take some measure of public and effectual remonstrance against it.’

This indifference to the ascertainment and settlement of the boundaries between the British and Russian possessions accounts for the fact that no survey of the north-west coast of America was undertaken for nearly a century after its original exploration by Vancouver, during the whole of which period that discoverer’s charts remained the standard and indeed the only original authority.

Such was the state of affairs regarding Alaska when, in March 1867, it was announced that Russia had ceded her North American possessions to the United States. The negotiations were conducted with the utmost secrecy, and nothing was known of the transaction in America until the issue of the President’s proclamation summoning an extra session of the Senate to consider it. The motives for the sale were subsequently declared to be the small value and unproductive nature of the territory, the cost of its protection and maintenance, and the desire of Russia to be rid of a possession which at some future time might involve her in difficulties with the United States. To these reasons her Majesty’s Minister of the day at Washington opined should be added a secret hope of possible complications between England and the United States which the extension of the latter’s jurisdiction to the north of British America might entail. This was afterwards openly stated by Charles Sumner, who, in his speech in Congress on the cession, suggested that in parting with Alaska Russia was moved by considerations

similar to those which had influenced Napoleon in the sale of Louisiana—that he was glad thereby ‘to establish for ever the power of the United States, and give to England a maritime rival destined to humble her pride.’

With the transfer of sovereignty to the United States passed also the policy of neglect and indifference which had characterised Russia’s possession of Alaska. When in 1872, shortly after the discovery of gold in the Cassiar district of British Columbia, her Majesty’s Government, at the instance of the Canadian Ministry, suggested to the United States the expediency of delimiting the boundary between Alaska and British Columbia, Mr. Fish, then Secretary of State, replied that, while he was satisfied as to the expediency of the proceeding, he feared that Congress might not be willing to vote the necessary appropriation. His surmise proved well founded, for in the following year a bill to provide for the cost of a joint survey, which had been recommended by the President in his annual Message, failed to pass. The amount asked for was about 300,000*l.* Owing to the disinclination on the part of Congress to provide the means necessary for the delimitation of the whole boundary, or indeed of any part of it, the question remained in abeyance for some years. In 1885 it was revived by President Cleveland, who, in his Message to Congress, suggested for the first time the idea, subsequently developed by Messrs. Bayard and Phelps, that the descriptive portions of the treaty of 1825 were founded upon erroneous conceptions of the natural features of the country, and that consequently the line contemplated by the negotiators was impracticable of location. The recommendation by the President of a preliminary survey, with a view to the adoption of ‘a more convenient line,’ was frustrated by Congress, which again declined to make the necessary appropriations, and it was not until 1892 that an agreement was reached between Great Britain and the United States for the appointment of a Survey Commission, having for its object the ascertainment of facts and data necessary to the permanent delimitation of the boundary line in accordance with the spirit and intent of existing treaties. This agreement was embodied in a convention, under which each Government appointed commissioners, who on the last day of the year 1895 submitted their joint report, together with elaborate maps and photographic views indicating the topographical features of the country, but unaccompanied by any recommendation as regards the boundary.

The limit to the Russian possessions on the continent of America established by the treaty of 1825 is in part a natural boundary and in part a meridian line. From the head of Portland Canal it follows the summit of the mountains situated parallel to the coast (subject to an alternative proviso to be considered hereafter) as far as the intersection of the same by the 141st degree of west longitude, and thence along that meridian to the Polar Sea. The negotiations we have been considering related to the south-eastern or natural boundary of the coast strip.

Meanwhile the miners of Cassiar were pushing their way northward through the mountain passes and down the valley of the Yukon river, in certain small tributaries of which, as far back as 1886, deposits of gold had been found. Several of these streams, notably 'Forty Mile Creek,' were known to be crossed by the 141st meridian, though no one could say exactly where the line ran. As its ascertainment was a matter of urgency, the Canadian Government in the summer of 1887 sent out surveyors who astronomically determined the points of intersection both with respect to the Yukon and to Forty Mile Creek. Two years later the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey despatched a party on a similar mission. The result of their observations at the Yukon differed about 600 feet from that of the Canadian survey, but at Forty Mile Creek the two very nearly coincided. Nothing further was done for some years, when on the eve of the Klondike discoveries the United States Government proposed, with respect to this survey, that where discrepancies occurred between the results of American and Canadian experts as to the correct geographical co-ordinates of one and the same point, a position midway between the two locations should be adopted. Canada accepted this offer to 'split the difference.' She also agreed to a characteristic proposal of the United States Government made at the same time. Near the intersection by the 141st meridian of the mountains parallel to the coast, Mount St. Elias rears its lofty crest full 18,000 feet above the level of the sea. As the highest mountain on the American continent, it should as a matter of course, in the estimation of the good people of the United States, have been situated within their borders. Unluckily for them, it stands more than two miles east of the 141st meridian, and is thus indisputably within British territory. Canada was invited to repair this oversight on the part of nature by consenting to a deflection of the southern portion of the line so as to make it range with the

summit of Mount St. Elias, thus sharing possession of this great landmark. She smilingly acquiesced, and in so doing gave a further proof of her good-will.

Early in the year 1897 a convention embodying these concessions was signed at Washington by the representatives of the respective Powers. Unfortunately this treaty failed to obtain the necessary ratification by the United States Senate. It accordingly fell to the ground, and the line of the 141st meridian remains unsettled to this day, save so far as the common sense of the people in the localities through which it passes has accepted and recognised a conventional division between British and American territory.

In view of the difficulty experienced in reaching an agreement as to the determination of a meridian line, with respect to which one would think there could be no possible room for difference of opinion, it is not surprising that the southeastern boundary, depending as it does upon the obscure language of the treaty of 1825, should furnish abundant material for controversy.

A reference to Articles III. and IV. of the treaty of 1825, quoted above, shows that the line, starting from the southernmost point of Prince of Wales Island, is to ascend to the north along the channel called Portland Channel until it reaches the 56th degree of north latitude, from which point it is to follow the summit of the mountains situated parallel to the coast as far as their intersection by the 141st meridian, provided these mountains are within ten marine leagues from the ocean. Should the mountains at any point prove to be more than that distance from the ocean, then the limit shall be a line parallel to the windings of the coast, from which it shall never be farther distant than 10 marine leagues.

• Having ascertained the southernmost point of Prince of Wales Island, one is suddenly confronted by the fact that between it and Portland Channel sixty miles of open ocean intervene. Furthermore, Portland Channel lies almost due east from the southernmost point. How then is the line joining the two to ascend to the north? Again, the line is to ascend to the north along Portland Channel, until it strikes the 56th degree of north latitude. But Portland Channel does not attain to latitude 56, and there is no provision made for the course the line is to take between the head of the channel and the point where the mountains situated parallel to the coast are crossed by that parallel. Then follow the all-important questions, (1) which are the

mountains situated parallel to the coast? and (2) what is the coast?

Without pursuing the inquiry too minutely or entering into many of its details, it is proposed to set down here briefly the British and American interpretations of this treaty, in so far as their respective contentions can be ascertained from the published views and utterances of public men in Canada and the United States, for neither Government has as yet given out an official statement of its claim.

Fortunately for our purpose, however, the Honourable John W. Foster, ex-Secretary of State of the United States, and a member of the International Joint High Commission, has taken the somewhat unusual course in a plenipotentiary, during the progress of a negotiation in which he is engaged, of contributing to a magazine * an article-- and a very full and interesting article it is--on the subject of the Alaska boundary. In view of General Foster's recognised position as a high authority on the subject of which he treats, this paper must be deemed to be an authentic, if informal, presentation of the case of the United States Government.

While no British commissioner has been so considerate as General Foster in this respect, Canada's claim can nevertheless be stated here with all needful accuracy.

At the outset it may be observed that there exists a very general agreement to the effect that the negotiators of the treaty of 1825 relied largely upon Vancouver's charts and the narrative of his voyages for their information respecting the physical features of the country with which they found themselves called upon to deal. Both parties concur in holding Cape Muzon to be the southernmost point of Prince of Wales Island, though, as a matter of fact, it is not on Prince of Wales Island at all, and both acknowledge that the body of water to-day known as Portland Canal is, despite the erroneous description in the treaty, the channel along which the line is to ascend. Here, however, agreement ends. The United States holds that the line should enter Portland Channel by what since 1853 has been known as Portland Inlet, which is a part of the waters named by Vancouver 'Observatory Inlet.' The British contention is that the Portland Channel of the treaty is the channel so marked on Vancouver's charts and described in his narrative in terms that leave no doubt as to the body of water to

* The National Geographic Magazine, November, 1899.

which he intended them to apply. The deflection desired by the United States would give to that Power the principal islands lying at the entrance of Portland Canal, and thereby the command not merely of the inlet, but also of the harbour of Port Simpson in British Columbia, which, by reason of its natural advantages, is destined to become an important commercial and strategic point.

In support of this claim it is argued on the side of the United States that the line, departing from the southernmost point of Prince of Wales Island, should follow along the parallel of $54^{\circ} 40'$, which would bring it in at the mouth of Observatory Inlet. They base their contention on the fact that this latitude is expressly mentioned in the treaty in connexion with the point of commencement, and they urge that the reason of the omission to state that the boundary should proceed along that parallel is that the repetition was considered unnecessary.

The Canadians reply that when in the course of the negotiations of 1823-5 Russia was forced to abandon her extravagant pretensions put forward in the ukase of 1821, she took her stand upon the charter of the Emperor Paul, and claimed down to 55° . To that line she stubbornly adhered throughout. Inasmuch, however, as the parallel of 55° cuts Prince of Wales Island near its southern extremity, the Russian plenipotentiaries proposed that the portion of the island below that line should be included in the Russian possessions. In order to effect this result the starting point was fixed at the southernmost point of Prince of Wales Island, which happens to be in latitude of $54^{\circ} 40'$. Thus the extension to $54^{\circ} 40'$ was merely a local exception to fit a particular case. For similar reasons of convenience the continental line was carried south a few minutes of latitude to Portland Canal, which affords the first natural boundary on the continent south of 55° .

There can be little doubt from the text of the treaty that the southernmost point of Prince of Wales Island and not the parallel of latitude was intended as the point of beginning. The geographical co-ordinates are given for the purposes of identification merely. If they were intended to govern, the wording would be different, for the definition of a point by geographical co-ordinates must be by the intersection of two lines, and not by a parallel of latitude and two meridians seventy-five miles apart. Seeing that the line is to 'ascend to the north,' a claim that it is first to run sixty miles due east along a parallel of latitude seems manifestly untenable.

Canada also contends that, having determined the point of departure (Cape Muzon) and also the place on the continent where the boundary strikes the coast (the mouth of Vancouver's Portland Channel), it is agreeable to the rules of legal construction to hold, in the absence of any specific directions, that the line joining these two points should take the shortest way, which is not a parallel of latitude, but along the arc of a great circle.

Following the same rule of interpretation Canada maintains that the head of Portland Canal and the point where the 56th degree crosses the mountains situated parallel to the coast within ten marine leagues from the ocean, should be joined by a straight line.

The treaty continues:

'De ce dernier point' (that is, the intersection of the mountains by the 56th parallel) 'la ligne de démarcation suivra la crête des montagnes situées parallèlement à la côte, jusqu'au point d'intersection du 111° degré de longitude ouest.'

The difficulty here lies in the fact that this whole region is highly mountainous. There exists not one range, but many, rising one behind the other in irregular fashion, connected in many places by spurs, the whole forming more or less a confused jumble of mountains.

The United States, according to General Foster, takes the ground that the treaty of 1825 was framed in the light of imperfect geographic knowledge; that the mountain range depicted on Vancouver's maps as almost bordering the coast has no existence in fact; that there is no continuous range or chain at all, and that consequently it is necessary to fall back upon the alternative provision of Article IV., under which they claim that the boundary line should be everywhere ten marine leagues inland from the coast, the distance being measured from the head of tide water round all the inlets. It will be observed that the United States read this clause as if it meant that the boundary line is to be 'everywhere not less than' instead of 'nowhere more than' ten leagues from the sea.

The British claim is that by the crest of the mountains situated parallel to the coast is meant the tops of the mountains nearest the ocean. Great Britain denies the necessity for a continuous 'range' or 'chain,' and points out that neither word occurs in the treaty. The word 'parallel,' it holds, is not to be taken in its strict geometrical sense as implying equidistance. It is unnecessary to search for mountains which are all at precisely the same distance

from the coast, for Article IV. of the treaty contemplates the possibility of these mountains being sometimes more and sometimes less than ten marine leagues therefrom. It is a natural fact that mountains from 3,000 to 5,000 feet high lying within five or six miles of the sea border the coast throughout its entire length. When it is borne in mind that Vancouver had no knowledge of the interior country, his observations having been made from his ships, it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that the mountains depicted on his charts are those seen from the sea as fringing the coast line, to the serrated appearance of whose tops, heightened by their irregularity of outline, the word 'crest' is peculiarly applicable. Canada holds these to be the mountains of the treaty. She maintains that in delimiting this boundary the summit ridge of each of these mountains should be taken, and the valleys between crossed by straight lines from crest to crest, whether they contain streams, rivers, or such arms of the sea as do not form part of the ocean.

Thus, while Canada seeks to restrict her neighbour to a narrow strip of sea coast, having an average breadth of perhaps four or five miles, the United States claim an extensive tract of country running back in some places more than a hundred miles. In the presence of such widely conflicting claims recourse is naturally had to the negotiations which led up to the treaty of 1825. These negotiations were carried on at the outset between Sir Charles Bagot, British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, acting under instructions of George Canning, at that time Foreign Secretary, and Count Nesselrode, then Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs. Subsequently Sir Charles Bagot was replaced by Stratford Canning, by whom the treaty was concluded.

The correspondence between these statesmen contains a good deal to support the British contention that the boundary follows the summit of the mountains nearest the sea. Throughout the whole of their negotiations it is quite clear that Russia's paramount desire was to preserve for her establishments on the islands a monopoly of trade with the coast Indians, and with that object in view she strove to keep back the British by barring their access to the ocean. Nothing could so effectually serve this purpose as a range of mountains, and therefore we find Nesselrode at an early stage of the proceedings suggesting that the line

' remonteroit le long de ces montagnes parallèlement aux sinuosités de la côte, jusqu'à la longitude du 139° degré (méridien de Londres), degré dont la ligne de prolongation vers le nord formeroit la limite

ultérieure entre les possessions Russes et Angloises au nord, comme à l'est.' .

And he frankly goes on to say : --

'Le motif principal qui force la Russie à insister sur la souveraineté de la lisière indiquée plus haut sur la terre ferme depuis le Portland Canal jusqu'au point d'intersection du 60° avec le 139° de longitude, c'est que, privée de ce territoire, la Compagnie Russe-Américaine n'auroit aucun moyen de soutenir les Etablissements qui seroient dès lors sans point d'appui, et qui ne pourroient avoir aucune solidité.'

With the width of the strip he does not appear to have been specially concerned; for, writing to Count Lieven, Russian Ambassador in London, he observes with reference to the above proposal : --

'Cette proposition ne nous assurait qu'une étroite lisière* sur la côte même, et elle laissoit aux Etablissements Anglois tout l'espace nécessaire pour se multiplier et s'étendre.'

And in their second written offer the Russians propose as the eastern boundary

'la chaîne de montagnes qui suit à une très petite distance* les sinuosités de la côte.'

The Hudson's Bay Company, to whom this proposal was referred by Canning, expressed their general agreement thereto, but in respect of the question of the eastern boundary the Governor observed :—

'They beg me, however, to suggest the expediency of some more definite demarcation on the coast than the supposed chain of mountains contiguous to it, and they conceive there can be no difficulty in arranging this point from the expression in the proposition of the Russian negotiators: "la chaîne des montagnes qui sont à une très petite distance† des sinuosités de la côte."'

Adopting this suggestion, Canning instructed Bagot to take as the line of demarcation

'a line . . . through Portland Channel, till it strikes the mainland in latitude 56, thence following the sinuosités of the coast, along the base of the mountains nearest the sea* to Mount Elias, and thence along the 139th degree of longitude to the Polar Sea.'

And in the draft *projet* enclosed he embodies the same idea in different words :—

'From this point it shall be carried along that coast, in a direction parallel to its windings, and at or within the seaward base of the

* In the original these words are not italicised.

† These words are italicised in the original.

mountains *by which it is bounded*,* as far as the 139th degree of longitude west of the said meridian.'

This *projet* having been communicated to Count Lieven, the Russian Ambassador took exception to the line following the base of the mountains instead of the summit, pointing out that, in view of the limited knowledge of the geographical features of the north-west coast available, it might turn out that the mountains forming the boundary reached by an imperceptible slope to the water's edge. So well did Count Lieven understand the British proposal that he was apprehensive lest the boundary line might actually coincide with the coast. To obviate that possibility he suggested that the crest of the mountains—the same mountains, he it observed—be taken instead of the base.

Canning ultimately agreed to this, but, commenting upon a new move of the Russians, qualified his assent by insisting that the mountains should be the boundary only where they did not extend more than ten leagues from the coast, otherwise, said he, foreseeing the inaccuracy of the maps before them, 'we might be assigning to Russia immense tracts of inland territory where we only intended to give, and they only intended to ask, *a strip of sea-coast*.' *

This is his final instruction to Stratford Canning. At the conclusion of the negotiations Stratford Canning writes:—

'The line of demarcation along the strip of land on the north-west coast of America assigned to Russia is laid down in the Convention *agreeably to your directions*,* notwithstanding some difficulties raised on this point, as well as on that which regards the order of the articles by the Russian plenipotentiaries.'

In acknowledging the receipt of this communication, Mr. Canning says:—

'Having laid them' (the despatches transmitting the Convention) 'before the King, I have received his Majesty's commands to express his Majesty's particular satisfaction at the conclusion of the treaty respecting the Pacific Ocean and north-west coast of America in a manner *so exactly conformable to your instructions*,* and to direct you to express to the Russian Government the pleasure which his Majesty derives from the amicable and conciliatory spirit manifested by that Government in the completion of this transaction.'

While it is true that the limiting words 'by which it is bounded,' which appear in the earlier draft furnished by Canning to Bagot, are not found in the final *projet* sent to Stratford Canning, their equivalent, 'seaward base,' never-

* In the original these words are not italicised.

theless, was contained in the latter's instructions, to which the treaty, Canning himself testifies, 'so exactly' conformed.

All this, while militating against the American claim to an extensive *lisière*, leaves unresolved the cardinal inquiry, what did the negotiators mean by the coast? Did they intend that the strip of land to be given to Russia should include and pass round all the inlets from the ocean, or, when they employed the term 'côte,' did they mean thereby the broad outlines of the continental shore?

The Fourth Article speaks of the line of coast which is to belong to Russia, and provides that whenever the mountains which by the Third Article are made the boundary 'prove to be at a distance of more than ten marine leagues from the 'ocean,' an artificial line should be drawn as the boundary, parallel to the windings of the coast, but never exceeding the distance of ten marine leagues therefrom. The minimum distance at which such line should be drawn from the coast or ocean is not stated. That probably would be determined by the distance from the coast where the mountain range which formed the boundary ceased. But the maximum distance is clearly indicated, and by using the words 'coast' and 'ocean' indifferently to express the shore, or waters, from which the ten marine leagues were to be measured, it may fairly be argued that the negotiators of the treaty understood the word 'coast' to refer to the coast of the ocean as distinguished from the coast or shore of inlets running up into the interior, such as Taku Inlet or Lynn Canal.

The evolution of this word 'ocean' is worth examination.

In the early stages of the negotiations, Sir C. Bagot speaks of a line 'toujours à la distance de dix lieues du 'rivage.'* A draft *projet* was subsequently furnished Bagot by Canning, Article II. of which reads:—

'De ce point elle suivra cette côte parallèlement à ses sinuosités, et sous ou dans la base vers la mer* des montagnes qui la bordent, jusqu'au 139^e degré de longitude ouest dudit méridien.'

Sir C. Bagot failed to reach an agreement, and quitted St. Petersburg.

He was succeeded by Stratford Canning, who bore with him a new draft convention, Article III. of which provides:—

'If the summit of the aforesaid mountains shall turn out to be in any part of their range at more than the distance of 10 marine leagues from the *Pacifick*,* then that for that space, &c.'

* In the original these words are not italicised.

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Thus we find the original word 'rivage,' which is applicable to any body of water, exchanged for 'mer.' 'Mer,' which might be held to apply to salt water generally, becomes in turn 'Pacifick' in the *projet* of December, while, as if to make the matter quite sure, the 'Pacifick' of the draft is changed into the 'Ocean' of the treaty.

That the heads of inlets many miles inland could correctly be designated as the 'Pacifick' or the 'Ocean' was evidently foreign to the mind of Count Nesselrode when, writing to Lieven, he referred to the Portland Canal,

'dont l'embouchure dans l'Océan est à la hauteur de l'Île du Prince de Galles et l'origine dans les terres entre le 55° et 56° de latitude.'

The entrance to the canal is on the coast—the head is within the continent. Again:—

'On ne peut effectivement assez le répéter, d'après le témoignage des cartes les plus récentes, l'Angleterre ne possède aucun Etablissement ni à la hauteur du Portland Canal ni au bord même de l'Océan.'

And this point is still more clearly brought out in the counter draft of the Russian plenipotentiaries, wherein, alluding to Portland Canal, they say:—

'où cette passe se termine dans l'intérieur de la terre ferme au 56° de latitude nord.'

These passages indicate that the Russians distinguished between the shores and heads of inlets and the ocean. The Canadian Government takes the same view. It holds that the shores of inlets were not included in the meaning to be conveyed by 'la côte.' It affirms that, however relevant the word 'Ocean' might be to those parts of bays which from their breadth and conformation are common international waters, it cannot with any accuracy be applied to inlets, which by international law and common consent are parts of the territory of the country owning the shores thereof, and consequently that the line, whether marked by mountains or by a survey line, should be drawn without reference to such inlets.

The United States, in support of the opposite contention, point to the fact that on the maps used in these negotiations the mountains are represented as passing round the heads of all the inlets, including the Lynn Canal, and that no objection was raised on that score by Mr. Canning or Sir C. Bagot, though the extent of the Lynn Canal must

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have been known to both of them, for the latter suggested to the former 'a meridian line drawn from the 'head of the Lynn Canal, as it is laid down in Arrow-smith's last map, or about the 135th degree of west 'longitude,' as the boundary in the interior of the continent. They also argue that the *lisière* was to be a continuous strip of territory, whereas, if it were broken at intervals by inlets extending into British territory, its continuity would be destroyed and its usefulness as a barrier against British aggression greatly impaired. There does not seem to be much in this point however, for Article VI. of the treaty of 1825 secures to British subjects the right in perpetuity of 'navigating freely and without any hindrance whatever all 'the rivers and streams which in their course towards the 'Pacific Ocean may cross the line of demarcation upon the 'line of coast described in Article III. of the present 'Convention.' There is no apparent reason why a narrow fiord should be more destructive to continuity than a wide river. Thirty miles up the Stikine would have been just as accessible and convenient a trading base from which to reach the coast Indians as thirty miles up the Lynn Canal, provided the river were as navigable as the canal, which it happens not to be, though of this the negotiators had no knowledge, their impression rather being that there existed several large rivers leading inland which were not marked on the maps. Indeed, Great Britain's insistence in 1825 on complete freedom of intercourse with the interior by all rivers and streams strengthens Canada's claim to the heads of these narrow tidal inlets which are not clearly separable on the map from the lower portions of the rivers by which upper parts of the same valleys are occupied. Neither the limit of influence of the tides, nor the change from salt to fresh water, can be strictly defined in the upper parts of these inlets, which vary in size with circumstances, such as the height of the barometer, the direction and force of the winds, and the season of the year. The heads of inlets, therefore, do not afford good fixed points from which to measure the width of a coast strip.

It is, however, rather upon its alleged prescriptive rights than on arguments drawn from the letter of the treaty and the negotiations which preceded it, that the United States bases its claims to the heads of inlets. The fact that during the later years of Russian dominion the Hudson's Bay Company held the whole coast from Cross Sound to Portland Canal, under lease from the Russian American Company, is

cited as strong evidence of Great Britain's acknowledgement of Russia's jurisdiction over the disputed territory. But, apart from the question whether this lease included the heads of the Lynn Canal—a somewhat doubtful point—it is by no means admitted on the part of Canada that any action of the Hudson's Bay Company could be held to bind the British Government in a matter of territorial right, unless taken with its authority or with its subsequent sanction and approval. The function of the Hudson's Bay Company was not to define boundaries, but to collect furs. They already enjoyed a monopoly of trade in British territory. But to know just where British territory ended and Russian territory began was no easy matter, and the uncertainty caused by the absence of any line of demarcation between the possessions of the two Powers greatly prejudiced the Company's interests, involving them, as it did, in constant disputes with their Russian-American rivals. By leasing from Russia all the territory that was Russian (whatever that might ultimately turn out to include), they secured to themselves the entire trade of the mainland. That was all they sought. So long as they were free to range the country without molestation, erect their posts, and traffic with the natives, it mattered little to them whether they held any particular locality under their British charter or their Russian lease. Nor, supposing that the Hudson's Bay Company had undertaken to settle the international boundary, could such action on their part be held to impart to their negotiations with the Russian Company an official character. Those who assert a contrary view overlook the fact that the Hudson's Bay Company did not hold the whole of the Great North-west by the same tenure. With reference to that portion of the country which is watered by streams falling into Hudson's Bay (formerly styled Rupert's Land), it is true that they asserted and exercised, under the charter of Charles II., rights of proprietorship, exclusive trade, taxation, and government. These rights were acquired by Canada for the sum of 300,000*l.*, paid to the Company in 1869. Towards that vast region stretching north and west of Rupert's Land, however, the Hudson's Bay Company occupied a different relation. Under the provisions of an Imperial Act the Company were granted a monopoly of trade with the Indians of that territory for twenty-one years. This grant was subsequently renewed for a like period. Apart therefrom the Hudson's Bay Company possessed no exclusive privileges in the North-west Territory, nor did they assert any.

• A good deal of weight is attached by General Foster to the argument drawn from the maps published since the treaty of 1825, the boundary line shown on many of which accords with or goes beyond the contentions of the United States. It is, however, easy to over-estimate the value of such evidence. Some of these maps are almost grotesque in the extreme claims they make, and evidently have been prepared without adequate knowledge of the treaty. Great allowance must, of course, be made for the cartographers. No surveys other than those of Vancouver were undertaken of the shores of the Lynn Canal till after the year 1880, while the mountain ranges along the coast were not surveyed till the year 1895, after the Convention of 1892 had provided for a joint international survey. As the treaty of 1825, which defines the boundary line, makes its location dependent upon alternative circumstances, the occurrence or non-occurrence of mountains running in a direction parallel with the coast, it must be plain that any line placed upon a map before a survey was made, or a knowledge of the existence of such mountains ascertained, cannot be held to establish anything. It is fair to assume that such boundaries were intended by the draughtsman only as an indication of the occurrence of a dividing line somewhere in that region, and later cartographers, in the absence of any further knowledge, simply adopted the location of the line as they found it on earlier maps. The whole country was a veritable *terra incognita* until recent years, with intermittent communication, scant population, and, comparatively speaking, little or no commerce beyond the trade in furs. Under these circumstances the Canadian Government feel that little weight should be attached to maps showing the location of the line incorrectly and inconsistently with the treaty, as appears in the fuller light of subsequent surveys.

The Americans largely rely upon certain acts of occupation by them within the *lisière* to establish their claim to the territory in dispute. The argument drawn therefrom would have more force if Great Britain denied the right of the United States to any *lisière* at all. But this she does not do. Nobody disputes the claim of the United States to a strip of the coast. The point at issue relates to the extent of this strip. Actual possession at many different points no doubt took place, and political control was exercised all along the *lisière* both by Russia and the United States, but the question 'What is the *lisière*?' remains unaffected by this admission. It is therefore beside the mark to assert, as

General Foster does, that the Russian-American Company erected forts and trading posts within the strip, unless it can also be shown that these forts and trading posts were established in that portion of the territory claimed by Great Britain.

What are the facts with respect to the United States' alleged occupation of this disputed territory at the head of Lynn Canal? In the summer of 1880, the Presbyterian Board of Missions appears to have started a school or mission amongst the Indians at Haines Mission, Portage Cove, near the head of the canal. A building was erected there for the purpose of the school about 1881, and the school was continued for some time, but of late years it has been abandoned. The United States census for 1880 shows that at that date there was not a single white settler resident at the head of the Lynn Canal. In 1882 or 1883 a store was established at Pyramid Harbour, and another small trading post, belonging to a private individual, was also known to exist at the head of Taiya Inlet, where Dyea now is, in the year 1887. About 1883 two canneries were erected at Pyramid Harbour, and doubtless several other individual acts of ownership may be adduced as having occurred before the great rush came on the discovery of gold in the Klondike region. But it is contended by Canada that isolated acts of individuals cannot be held to prove national occupation or jurisdiction, particularly when, as in the present instances, it is borne in mind that those settlers were mere squatters, for years unrecognised by the United States. Indeed, no evidence has been produced to show that either a mining grant or a land grant was ever issued by the United States Government before the year 1897 to any person in any part of the disputed territory. It is commonly, though erroneously, supposed that the United States have exercised control at Dyea and Skagway for a considerable period of time. The facts are that Dyea and Skagway did not exist prior to the spring of 1897. At the opening of that year there was nothing more than a single log cabin or shanty at either place. In May the influx of miners to the Klondike began. Thousands of them arrived by steamer in the Lynn Canal, and congregated on its margin where Dyea and Skagway now stand. The necessities of this migration caused the erection of many buildings, and created considerable trade and commerce. Without any survey or further diplomatic action respecting the position of the boundary, the United States Government assumed

political control of these points, and established custom houses, post offices, and other evidences of authority. With such reasonable diligence as the extreme difficulties of access to this territory and other circumstances permitted, Canada protested against this cavalier mode of solving the difficulty, and urged the desirability of establishing the boundary line as contemplated by the Convention of 1892.

It is commonly asserted by the advocates of the United States' contention that Great Britain's claim to the heads of inlets is an afterthought—never dreamed of until the gold discoveries in 1897 drew attention to the advantages of ready means of access to the Yukon country. General Foster, indeed, goes somewhat farther, and intimates that it was not until the International Commission assembled at Quebec in August 1898 that he and his colleagues became aware of any divergence of view between the two Governments respecting the interpretation of the treaty of 1825.

It is somewhat surprising that an American statesman, and an ex-Secretary of State to boot, should commit himself to a statement so easy of disproof. More than ten years ago the United States Government issued a document* containing letters by Dr. George Dawson (an eminent Canadian authority, who had been summoned to Washington for a conference on the boundary) in support of the Canadian contention as to the line crossing inlets, and also a counter-argument by Mr. Dall, the American expert. Accompanying this report is a map showing how the boundary would run in accordance with the views presented by Dr. Dawson. On this map the line is clearly marked as crossing the Lynn Canal in the vicinity of Berner's Bay. It is also a matter of common knowledge to those in Canada who take interest in this question that on several occasions, both before and after the publication in 1889 of the American Blue-book referred to above, the Dominion authorities protested against arbitrary attempts on the part of the United States to settle the question conformably to its own pretensions.

While the foregoing presentation of the Alaska boundary question is admittedly from the British point of view, it is by no means desired to convey the impression that the facts and the arguments are all one way. On the letter of the treaty the British side have, we think, a decided advantage,

* Senate 50th Congress, 2nd Session, Ex doc. No. 146, pp. 4-9. Map No. 16.

prejudiced to some extent by extravagant claims put forward by over-zealous British Columbians—such, for instance, as that the ‘coast’ refers to the outer shore of the islands, which would not allow the Americans any foothold on the continent at all, though the whole dispute is about a strip of coast on the mainland as distinct from the islands. Scarcely less untenable is the theory that Portland Channel of the treaty does not mean Portland Channel, but Clarence Strait—an entirely different body of water, which Sir C. Bagot endeavoured to get as the boundary and failed.

On the other hand it is not to be denied that the claim of the United States derives a certain amount of strength from the neglect and apathy which for many years characterised Great Britain’s attitude towards this question. How far this indifference may be held to impair the advantages of an appeal to the letter of the treaty seems to be one of those questions eminently suited for reference to an arbitral tribunal. So judged the late Lord Herschell and his Canadian colleagues on the International Commission of 1898–99, at which, it is understood, every effort which conciliation could suggest was made by the British Commissioners to remove this vexed question from the domain of controversy. To this end they offered to yield to the United States the whole of the land bordering on the Lynn Canal, except Pyramid Harbour, and such a strip of land running back from that harbour to the boundary line as would secure uninterrupted access to the interior by the Dalton Trail—that is to say, they were prepared to give the United States two ports (Dyea and Skagway and the passes behind) out of three. Should this proposal be unacceptable, the British Commissioners expressed their willingness to agree to a reference of the whole question to arbitration on the lines of the Venezuela Boundary Treaty. That treaty provided that adverse holding for fifty years should make a good title, and also that such effect should be given to occupation for less than fifty years as reason, justice, the principles of international law, and equities of the case required.

The United States Commissioners refused both offers, qualifying their rejection of the latter by a counter-proposal to the effect that in the event of their consenting to an arbitration, it should be understood and provided beforehand that all settlements on tide-water settled on the authority of the United States, should continue to be American territory, even though they might prove to be on-

the British side of the line. In other words, they would consent to arbitrate only on condition that the principal objects of the arbitration should be theirs in any event, and that the other parties to the dispute should so covenant before they went into court. The British Commissioners, it is needless to say, found themselves unable to accept this modification of their proposal, and the negotiations were shortly afterwards suspended, whereupon the United States press proceeded to upbraid Canada with what they termed her extravagant demands and unreasonable conduct in thwarting the completion of an arrangement which both the Great Powers interested were desirous to effect. Nor was this unfair criticism wholly confined to the United States. Throughout the press of the mother country there ran a tone mildly deprecatory of what the 'Times' called Canada's 'tremendous tenacity,' and even Mr. Asquith 'was not quite sure that Canada had approached this question 'with the calmness of the United States.' The publication last June of the protocols of the Washington Conference effectually dispelled these misconceptions. It was then seen that Canada, far from having interposed obstacles to the successful issue of the negotiations, had gone to the verge of sacrificing her self-respect in her anxiety to effect a settlement of the dispute, and that it was the uncompromising stand taken by the United States plenipotentiaries which compelled the adjournment of the Commission.

The question naturally arises, why should the United States resolutely decline to refer to arbitration a case which its advocates are never wearied of pronouncing indefeasible, more especially when their position is safeguarded by considerations of possession, occupation, the equities of the case, and so forth? Such an attitude towards a kindred nation seems not a little strange, and of itself almost justifies the inference that the American people do not want the Alaska boundary settled.

It is commonly taken for granted that the cordial feelings entertained by the British people for their American cousins are reciprocated by the latter. Those who have visited only New York and other great centres in the United States have hardly perhaps had enough experience on which to found so wide and satisfactory a judgement. Among those whom they met in Wall Street, at the Clubs, and in society, were many no doubt animated by unaffected sentiments of admiration and regard for the motherland, and it is pleasant to think that this class is increasing in number

year by year. Ultimately it may leaven the entire mass, but up to the present time nothing can be more certain than that the travelled, cultured, broad-minded American does not reflect the views of the nation at large, with whom Great Britain is very far from popular. This, while to be regretted, is perhaps not surprising when the past relations between the two countries are considered. As late as yesterday it might almost be said that Great Britain was the only enemy against whom the United States had ever taken up arms. For generations she has been represented to the American school boy and girl as the traditional foe, from whose tyranny and oppression their forefathers were delivered. The impressions thus inculcated are seldom effaced, for in the United States, as in all countries, school histories are the only histories ever opened by the immense majority of the population.

Were it not for this prejudice pervading the masses, all would be plain sailing. There is little doubt that had circumstances permitted a free hand to President McKinley, or to Mr. Hay, the Alaska boundary question would have been settled before this on terms alike honourable and satisfactory to both countries. Nor would it be extravagant to regard a majority of the United States members of the Joint High Commission, personally, as equally well disposed with the President and his Secretary of State. Unfortunately, the Senate had to be reckoned with, and political exigencies forbade the American plenipotentiaries to agree to any conditions unacceptable to that body.

A generation ago the Senate of the United States took high rank among the second chambers of the world, but of late years its prestige has waned, and though still numbering among its members statesmen who would lend distinction to any legislative body, the Senate itself has become more and more amenable to those ignoble methods which dominate American politics.

From the beginning of this controversy the feeling throughout the Pacific coast has been averse to what is termed 'any cession of American territory,' meaning thereby any abatement of the extreme pretensions of the United States with respect to Alaska. On a mere rumour a year ago that the American members of the Joint High Commission were disposed to consider an arrangement whereby Canada would receive a port on the Lynn Canal, a violent clamour arose in the West, which, being speedily heard in an assembly where almost every man has his ear to the ground

and his eye on the next elections, proved disastrous to the negotiations.

This outcry against a settlement apparently so favourable to the United States was largely due to the effect which, by reason of the Navigation Laws, it would have had upon the carrying trade of the Pacific Coast. The bulk of supplies destined for the Yukon is shipped from Tacoma and Seattle, in Washington territory. Were Pyramid Harbour a British port, British vessels would be free to convey goods from United States ports to that point, while United States vessels would be precluded from carrying goods between Canadian ports and Pyramid Harbour. Here is one of the reasons which render the question of sovereignty so important in this controversy. Under the present laws British vessels may not carry goods from any American port to the Lynn Canal. It is true they can trade between British ports and the Lynn Canal, and a customs arrangement has recently been entered into between Canada and the United States, whereby goods arriving at Skagway may be bonded through to the Yukon district; but this bonding privilege is attended by restrictions more or less irksome, and is terminable at the pleasure of the American Government. Thus Canadian trade, flowing through American channels, is building up American towns in what Canada holds to be British territory. It is, perhaps, not surprising that Canadians should chafe under such a condition of affairs.

As regards the future of this question it is difficult to predicate anything. The United States, having secured under a *modus vivendi* possession of the heads of the Lynn Canal, are not likely to be in any hurry to disturb an arrangement so advantageous to them. On the other hand, various American industries are pressing for freer commercial relations with the Dominion, and Canada's refusal to treat on any of the remaining subjects of difference between the two countries until the question of the Alaska boundary is disposed of may lead to a revival of the International Commission.

The sinister influences which have hitherto stood in the way of an equitable settlement are at their minimum during the session of Congress immediately following a presidential election. Should Mr. McKinley be successful next November, it is possible that the new administration may feel itself strong enough to be able to prevail upon the Senate to sanction a treaty providing for a settlement of the question, either by compromise or by such a reference to arbitration as Canada can accept. Until then, at all events, matters must remain *in statu quo*.

ART. II.—1. *The Island; or, the Adventures of a Person of Quality.* By RICHARD WHITEING. London: 1899.

2. *Number 5 John Street.* By RICHARD WHITEING. London: 1899.

THE relation in books between their literary merit and their popularity forms a curious and interesting question, which would, if carefully studied, throw light upon many problems both of social and of literary philosophy. It is a question which is forced on the attention by books of various kinds, but by none so often and forcibly as it is by works of fiction. Numerous novels have been published during the past century which every cultivated, every fastidious reader recognises as admirable, alike in point of style and construction, as offering us brilliant pictures of life, manners, and character, and as exhibiting a knowledge of human nature generally true and delicate, and not seldom profound. Such readers find such novels delightful. They read them again and again. They place them in the rank of classics. But of such novels, with a few important exceptions, the popularity, if estimated by the number of those who read them, is small. Let us take, for instance, the novels of that writer whose genius Lord Macaulay described as being next to Shakespeare's—the novels of Jane Austen. These wonderful works of art, which are still treasured to-day by all who are capable of distinguishing good literature from bad, though they have made this authoress immortal, never made her popular—popular in the sense of the word that would be attributed to it by a modern publisher. On the other hand, long novels, such as 'The Heavenly Twins' or 'The Christian,' and short novels, such as 'Called Back' and 'The Mystery of a Hansom Cab,' which have no claim whatever to be regarded as literature at all, have been read in a single year by a larger number of people than have probably read 'Emma' or 'Mansfield Park' in ninety. Of this remarkable fact there is more than one explanation. We can on the present occasion only glance at the most obvious of them. One explanation is that, owing to various circumstances, a demand has arisen for novels which, instead of being read at leisure, are devoured in hurried intervals, like a stockbroker's luncheon in the City; in which all that is sought is excitement and distraction at the moment; and which are, when they have once been read, done with like an ended meal. Another

explanation is that a demand has arisen also for novels which are of a different and more serious kind, but which, instead of dealing with what is permanent in human life, deal exclusively with such problems or aspects of it as the circumstances of the hour have invested with special interest, and which distort or exhibit them with the fervour of an excited advocate. Such novels are works not so much of art as of journalism. No doubt to render them popular considerable talent is necessary ; but their popularity has its foundation in their subjects rather than in themselves, precisely as is the case with a war correspondent's letter, and bears no necessary relation to their enduring literary qualities. It is often, indeed, in inverse proportion to them, as is illustrated in a remarkable way by the novels of Mrs. Humphry Ward. Of these, 'Robert Elsmere,' which made her reputation as a writer, is, as a work of literary art, the worst. Its success was due to the fact that it was, under the guise of a story, a magnified leading article on the position of contemporary Christianity. It is perfectly true that this element of disguised journalism may often ruin a novel that would otherwise be good literature ; but it is equally true that it may render a novel popular which, regarded as literature, is beneath even the criticism of contempt.

It by no means follows, however, because a novel which is devoured by the many is recognised by the few as being, in a literary sense, worthless, that the few may not find in it much food for reflection. The precise contrary is the case. What such novels as those we are considering—the novels which are disguised journalism—lose in literary value they gain as signs of the times, and if they achieve popularity they throw an instructive light, not only on the mental condition, the knowledge, and the sentiments of the authors, but also on those of the thousands who read them and take them seriously. Such novels, indeed, form for the thoughtful reader not, perhaps, valuable studies of the subjects with which they deal, but valuable evidence as to the manner in which multitudes are content to deal with them. They afford us glimpses, which are sometimes astonishingly vivid, into the workings of the popular mind.

We have been led to make these observations by the appearance of two recent works which, in a literary sense, are superior to many of their intellectual kindred, but which owe, nevertheless, the considerable success obtained by them entirely to their qualities as the writings of a polemical

journalist who is using the incidents of the hour, and even of the minute, in order to point and preach a social and economic gospel. The works we refer to are 'The Island' and 'Number 5 John Street,' whose author, Mr. Whiteing, has been lately raised by them to celebrity. Of both these romances, or stories—they are hardly to be called novels—the central subject is not the scene, the incidents, or the characters, but the nature and origin of the divisions between rich and poor, and the means by which Mr. Whiteing believes and would teach us that they can be obliterated. In Mr. Whiteing's philosophy there is, as we shall see presently, nothing that is original. On the contrary, the views he propounds are all of them extremely old. But what is original is the vitality, the eager good faith with which they are stated; and what is interesting is the fact that a man of Mr. Whiteing's attainments should be capable of stating them, and capable of believing in them, as he does, and that a very considerable public should still exist in England which, to all appearances, is capable of taking them seriously.

'The Island' and 'Number 5 John Street,' though separate, are connected stories, the second being a sequel to the first. We will give the reader a brief account of both of them. 'The Island' in point of form is the autobiography of a peer who is young, wealthy, handsome, and, in addition to other advantages, suddenly wakes up one day to find that he is a social philosopher. Having acquiesced from his childhood upwards in the general features of civilisation, and having admired the elaborate manner in which civilised society is organised, scales fall from his eyes as he is watching a crowded thoroughfare in the City, and the conclusion is borne in on him that what he has admired as organisation is anarchy. Every one who is not rolling in a carriage or dressed in the extreme of fashion seems to his clarified vision to be groaning under an intolerable tyranny, or tormented with the restlessness that portends a near social revolution. He begins to feel misery tingling in the air everywhere. The thought of the condition of London weighs on his spirit like a nightmare, and in order to escape to a healthier and more hopeful atmosphere he betakes himself—it must be confessed with considerable simplicity—to Paris. In Paris, however, he finds a repetition of everything that distressed and alarmed him in London, and he finally takes refuge in a ship, and goes for a long sea voyage. In the South Pacific he passes a lonely island, whose

appearance excites his curiosity, and as no one on board is willing to share his adventures, he determines to visit it in one of the ship's boats alone. But the boat is capsized, the captain imagines him to be drowned, the ship sails away, and the hero gains the shore. He finds that the island is inhabited by an idyllic community, who are half English and half Tahitian in origin, and who, nominally at least, are subjects of Queen Victoria. But their own island is the only country they know. The climate is perfect, the scenery exquisite, the soil is exuberantly fertile. Everybody is able to produce from it all, or nearly all, he wants. There is consequently no division of labour, and such requisites as require division of labour to produce them they secure by a process of barter from occasional British ships. All are equal socially; all are equally rich. They consequently love one another in a manner worthy of Eden. Every one is happy; work is as pleasant as play; as for vice, they have absolutely no temptations to it, and their nearest approach to crime is the killing of a neighbour's cat or the injuring the bark of trees by the cutting of lovers' names on it. One germ of trouble only lurks in this spotless paradise. The simple inhabitants feel, with a touching humility, that well off as they are, it is clearly possible that they might be better. They realise that England, the wonderful mother country—the country of fabulous wealth, the country of hoarded wisdom—has many advantages, many sources of happiness beyond and above any that are accessible to themselves in their isolation; and they wistfully wish that it were possible for them to be as wise and as happy as the English. The daughter of the governor, a young lady of great attractions, in a moment of confidence expresses these feelings to the hero, and begs him to unfold to her the secret of England's social blessedness. Here Mr. Whiteing, having thus prepared his ground, begins, through the mouth of his hero, to deliver his social gospel, revealed obliquely, as the reader will probably conjecture, by means of what Mr. Whiteing intends to be withering satire and pathos. We shall presently have occasion to consider his utterances in some detail, as interesting indications of the mental soil from which they spring. It is sufficient here to observe that, in response to the young lady's request, he informs her that if her island community would really be as perfect as England, the first thing to do is to establish a division of labour, and division of labour, he proceeds to explain, means this. As the foundation of society, a race

of beings is developed who make everything for everybody else, and themselves enjoy nothing. On this useful foundation there rises a middle class, whose sacred function is not to produce, but to be respectable; and above the middle class there rises an aristocracy, whose function is to do the crowning justice to life by realising its possibilities of pleasure, leisure, and beauty.

This argument, the drift of which will be readily apprehended by the reader, is taken up again in 'Number 5 John Street,' and is explained with what Mr. Whiteing imagines to be a mass of overwhelming illustrations. 'Number 5 John Street' is a story of London life, in which the author attempts to paint, and set side by side, life as it is lived by the two extremes of the population - the life of the poorest of the poor and the life of the richest of the rich; and he seems to be under the impression that a picture of this violent contrast affords us a scientific chart of civilised society as it exists. This story, too, is in the form of an autobiography. The supposed narrator, however, here is not a lord, but a baronet. But though not a lord, he is the next best thing: he is the friend of one. He is the intimate friend of the social philosopher of the island. This latter personage has somehow mysteriously disappeared, and has left to his friend, as a legacy, a duty that had been undertaken by himself. This duty is to represent the governor of the island at the Jubilee, and he is also requested by the governor as a very particular favour to send a report to him of the condition of the mother country. The baronet, who is at first perplexed by this large request, is suddenly visited by an entirely original idea. A great many people have talked and written about the poor. He resolves that he will do what no one has ever done before—he will learn for himself how the poor actually live, and his report shall be a description of what he learns. He accordingly disguises himself as a workman, takes up his quarters in John Street in a workmen's lodging-house, and lives for six weeks on half a crown a day, which he earns. The six weeks over he returns to his natural sphere. He gives us all particulars as to how he spends his days, his own pleasures and luxuries, the pleasures and luxuries of his friends; and he reveals to us more of the splendour of the highest of high life than most people familiar with it would have discovered in twenty years. Then he pays another visit to John Street. The reader is presented with another study in contrasts; and the book ends with a series of extracts from the report which the baronet now is

qualified to send to the island governor, and which read like a continuation, enriched with more details, of the social philosophy of the lord in the previous volume.

Now, if Mr. Whiteing did not possess many merits, we should not, whatever might be the sale of his works at the railway bookstalls, look on him and his social philosophy as worth serious discussion. But being, as he evidently is, a remarkable man in many ways, his books have a significance, because they are produced by him, beyond any that could attach to him merely because he has produced his books. He is a man of education; he is not deficient in taste; his mind is active; his observation is quick. Solemnly and seriously as he takes himself and his views, he treats the most burning problems with a certain self-restraint and sobriety, and instead of being content with describing the life of the poor from hearsay, he has, like his hero, set himself to observe it with his own eyes. Despite his having chosen to adopt in both of his stories the imaginary standpoint of an unoccupied man of fashion, his view of the world and his knowledge of it, as he has shown in every chapter, are essentially those of a man of the middle class, and hence his books afford us an exceedingly interesting picture of a state of mind and feeling with regard to social subjects which prevails in a section of the great class in question—a section which possesses an importance out of all proportion to its numbers, and has frequently exercised, and may possibly exercise again, a very considerable influence on the legislation of this country. It is a state of mind and feeling which well deserves examination. It results from a curious compound of ignorance and partial knowledge; of feelings and modes of reasoning that deserve sincere respect; of feelings and modes of reasoning that deserve nothing but ridicule. It is a state of mind and feeling which initiates many valuable movements. It is a state of mind and feeling which carries them to mischievous and grotesque extremes.

In dealing with Mr. Whiteing let us consider his merits first, only pausing for a moment to make one observation as to his style. Assuming, as he does in his narratives, the pose of a man of fashion—or, as he elegantly describes it in many places, of a ‘swell’—he has adopted a manner which he imagines to be one of aristocratic ease, but which is in reality one of affected and vulgar jauntiness, and which no more reproduces the manner of well-bred men than the ‘swell’ on the stage of a music-hall reproduces their gait and aspect. He thus vitiates a style which is naturally easy

and pleasing, as we see continually when he drops his pose and is himself. This defect having been allowed for, Mr. Whiteing's pages reveal to us a keen sense of beauty; an unusual power of describing it; a gift for simple romance which is sometimes almost poetry; a quick observation of those social aspects of life which he has been able to study adequately; an artistic adroitness in selecting and grouping their typical details; and, within limits, a certain shrewd miscellaneous knowledge of the world. But his pages show that he is more than a mere observer who looks at life and civilisation through the medium of artistic and philanthropic feeling. He not only feels about what he observes, but he also does his best to think about it, and many of his observations show an admirable fairness of mind, coupled with a keenness of insight, which are worthy of a true philosopher; while, whatever we may think of Mr. Whiteing's philosophy as a whole, he is obviously a well-intentioned man, who preaches it with the most sincere conviction.

The following passage, though marred by the vulgar jauntiness which Mr. Whiteing has so unfortunately affected, will illustrate what has been said of him as a person of quick and comprehensive observation. It is taken from the first chapter of 'The Island,' and describes the scene in the City to which we have referred already, and which is witnessed by the hero from the steps of the Royal Exchange:—

'It was such a sight,' he writes -- 'civilisation in a nutshell. That was what made me pause. I was a part of it; and Apollo was taking a peep at his own legs. Why not? We all seemed to be going on so beautifully; we were all busy, all doing something for progress. What a scene! The Exchange I had just left, with its groups of millionaires gossiping Bagdad and the Irrawaddy, Chicago and the Cape; dividend day over at the Bank yonder, and the well-known sight of the blessed going to take their quarterly reward; a Sheriff's coach turning the angle of the Mansion House (breakfast to an African pro-Consul, I believe), a vanishing splendour of satin and plush and gold; dandy clerks making for Birch's, with the sure and certain hope of a partnership in their easy grace; shabby clerks making for the bunshop; spry brokers going to take the odds against Egyptians, and with an appropriate hesitation of air; a parson (two hundred and fortieth annual thanksgiving sermon at St. Hilda's, to commemorate Testator's encounter with Barbary pirates, and providential escape); itinerant salesmen of studs, pocket combs, and universal watchkeys; flower girls at the foot of the statue, a patch of colour; beggar at the foot of the steps, another patch, the red shirt beautifully toned down in wear—perfect! we want more of this in London—giant policemen moving

him on ; irruption of noisy crowd from the Cornhill corner (East and West to demonstrate for the right to a day's toil for a day's crust) ; thieves, bludgeon men and stone men in attendance on the demonstration ; detectives in attendance on thieves ; shutters up at the jewellers' as they pass ; average 7s. 6d. to the hundred pockets ; with a wall only to divide them from all the 'turtle of the Mansion House, or all the bullion of the Bank ! and for background the nondescript thousands in black and brown and russet, and every neutral hue, and the sun over all, and between the sun and the thousands the London mist !'

As a piece of observation and artistic grouping this is excellent, and the following comments on the scene show reflection in alliance with observation.

'It was something as a picture, but so much more as a thought. What a wonder of parts and whole ! What a bit of machinery ! The beggar, and occasionally the stock-jobber and the nondescripts, to go wrong ; the policemen to take them up ; the parson to show them the way of repentance, and the Sheriff to hang them if need be when all was done. With this, the dandies—myself now altogether unornamental—the merchants, the clerks, and the dividend takers, all but cog and crank of the same general machine.'

Let us now consider Mr. Whiteing as a poet and a writer of romance—as a man with a perception of beauty and the pathos of human affection. As has been said already, the hero of his first story meets in the fortunate island a young lady of great attractions—the daughter of the patriarchal governor. In spite of certain exaggerations, her character is well described. In general appearance she is a kind of Venus of Milo, strong, supple, and fearless, yet instinct with feminine feeling and absolutely devoid of guile. It is almost needless to say that the hero falls in love with her, and the developement of his passion is described with delicacy and self-restraint. The young lady herself conceives gradually a corresponding feeling for the hero. She has, however, plighted her troth to a curly-headed midshipman of a vessel who visited the island long before the story opens. The midshipman, having made his conquest, had departed, leaving with the young lady no tangible token of his identity except one of his buttons, and the young lady has never heard of him since. But, singularly unlike her more civilised sisters, she has felt that a troth once plighted binds for ever and ever ; and in this conviction she has been hitherto justified by the fact that the midshipman has had no rival who could make her even wish to be false to it. But the rival has now come. The memory of the midshipman

fades in the presence of the sympathetic hero; yet neither of them admits, or even understands, the position of affairs until the hero, unaware of his feelings, surprises himself by saying to her, 'I love you.' Held back by her principles, she refrains from responding to this avowal; nevertheless, in accordance with the diplomacy for which her more civilised sisters are famous, she agrees that, though not lovers, they will always remain dear friends. Not till the hero learns from an English newspaper that his mother is dying of grief on account of his unexplained disappearance, and not till he resolves, in consequence, to return to England instantly, does the reserve of the heroine give way and allow her to confess her secret. Even then she tells him that he must go away and leave her, and she adds, sadly, that he is certain never to come back again.

"I do not know why, dear friend," she says, "but this I feel—we must lose you for ever. No one returns here."

"Then let me never go away," I cried, rising, and clasping her to my heart. "Let me live with you and be with you for ever, and forget all the world beside."

Once more I saw a beginning of that exquisite languor which had almost made her mine. The lips of the beautiful creature parted, the eyes closed. Once more my own lips approached them, when the girl moved herself by some mysterious exertion of will, tore herself from my embrace, and ran to the very edge of the cliff.

"Deep into the sea, beloved one, for ever beloved of my heart, if you come one step more. Go now, go from me. Leave me to say my prayers. I love you. Take that last word from Victoria; you will never hear her voice again."

This scene, whatever its merits as literature—and we ourselves are far from thinking them slight—shows a knowledge, sympathetic and delicate, on Mr. Whiteing's part of a woman's deepest feeling; and the esteem in which we hold him on this account is corroborated by the sensitiveness to beauty which he often evinces in his descriptions of external nature. No one, for example, could have written the following passage unless he possessed the temperament, if not the pen, of a poet.

'I turn and look down on the island, north, south, and west, in all its heaving beauty—blue sea, patches of coral sand, silver cascades gushing from the rocks; glory of trees and flowers, of clear skies, and of rainbow-tinted mists, flecking here and there the background of perfect turquoise; glory of the soft beauty of grove and settlement, of the wild beauty of the hills, of the ordered beauty of the happy mean in the plantations beyond; all visible from this height it came up to me through every sense—in its odours from the groves and gardens,

the soft breeze sighing my way; in its sounds, from the tinkle of a tame goat's bell here and there, in far, faint echoes of the woodman's axe falling in due measure of seconds after the flash of the sunlight on the polished steel. And, for sight again, there was more of the exquisite human life in tiny groups, dotted all over the fields in leisure and toil, or in the opalescent green shapes in the water, off the far point, which I knew to be the bodies of diving girls.'

But the descriptions which have done most to bring Mr. Whiteing into notice are descriptions of scenes and events very different from the foregoing. They are his detailed descriptions of the life of the London poor, which he vaguely foreshadowed in his sketch of the City crowd before the Mansion House. For these we must turn from 'The Island' to 'Number 5 John Street.' Many of our readers are doubtless familiar with them already. They have been written about in a number of admiring newspapers. They have been preached about in perhaps a yet larger number of pulpits. Critics, clergymen, and congregations have hailed them as a new revelation. We do not propose ourselves to examine them at any great length, for our object in considering Mr. Whiteing's literary achievements is merely to exhibit to the reader his capacities and accomplishments as a man, in order that we may better estimate his significance as a social teacher. About these descriptions, however, it will be necessary to say something, and it will be necessary to say something also about their counterpart in the same volume—Mr. Whiteing's descriptions of the life of the London rich. Of these two performances we shall have to speak in very different terms.

We gather that, as a preparation for dealing with the life of the very poor, Mr. Whiteing himself followed the course which he attributes to his hero, and lived for some weeks in a squalid lodging-house such as he describes. His description of it and of its inmates suggests, indeed, that this was the case. The scenes which he puts before us have all an air of reality—the unimpassioned precision of sketches made on the spot; nor are they, like so many descriptions of the same kind, overcoloured. The inmates of the lodging-house are represented with the same conscientious skill, and the pictures which he gives us of them show that he has not merely an observing eye, but a something very much rarer—that faculty of an observing mind which has its roots in dramatic and imaginative sympathy. He presents them to us as living beings, who, like all others of their species, are partly good, partly bad,

ignorant about many things, shrewd about many others, and who find that life, even among the most unfavourable circumstances, has in it elements of interest, gaiety, and enjoyment. They have all of them, moreover, an individuality which is the stamp of truth, and which vividly illustrates the fact, so often forgotten, that the poor, like all other classes, are a very heterogeneous body ; that they think about life and take life in very different ways ; and that unity of feelings and opinions, social, moral, or political, is no more produced by a similarity of bare floors than by a similarity of floors covered with Turkey carpets.

When we turn, however, from Mr. Whiteing's picture of the lowest class to his corresponding picture of the highest, every one of the commendations which we have just bestowed on him must be withdrawn. He is himself very severe on the folly of those philanthropists who think that they know what the life of the poor is from occasional visits to the slum or the labourer's cottage. Such persons, he says, see poverty from the outside only. To understand it they must see it from the inside, and experience it as the poor themselves do. In dealing with the fashionable world Mr. Whiteing himself occupies the precise position which he attributes to these philanthropists. Whatever knowledge of the fashionable world may be his, it is obviously a knowledge that comes from the outside only—possibly from occasional glimpses of it, but mainly, we should be inclined to conjecture, from a study of gossiping newspapers and of Ouida's earlier novels. Many of our soldiers still remember, with amusement, a celebrated description by this really gifted writer, of the internal glories of the old barracks at Knightsbridge ; and contrast that home of battered cocoanut matting, iron bedsteads, and the scantiest military furniture, with the statement that 'a young Guardsman in barracks is more 'luxurious than a young duchess.' Mr. Whiteing's pictures of the fashionable world, though less monstrous than Ouida's in their inaccuracy, show far less real acquaintance with it ; and even if he should be able to plead that certain details were taken from life, they are details which in life are altogether exceptional, and disprove rather than prove the inferences he attempts to draw from them.

We are led to make this last observation by the account Mr. Whiteing gives us of the young fine gentleman, at once dandy and athlete, who is intended by him to represent the most complete result of the union of an old upper class, refined by the traditions of centuries, with a new upper

class founded on industrial and commercial wealth. This young gentleman, whom Mr. Whiteing regards as a type of the fashionable eldest son, brought up at Eton and Balliol, occupies a suite of rooms, which have been apparently reconstructed for him, in some colossal hotel overlooking the Thames Embankment. He has balconies with tessellated floors, awnings of white and gold, and under the awnings 'a glory of fresh blossoms,' renewed every morning by an artist from Covent Garden, which frame the scene with their fabulously expensive petals. Two rooms will hardly hold the young gentleman's coats and trousers. He has half-a-dozen kinds of baths, which he perfumes with various essences. He touches a button by his bed, and some marvellous piece of machinery puts within reach of him spirits and 'The Sporting Times.' His sheets, his pillows, and his nightshirts are all of the finest silk. As he dresses a manicurist attends at his bedroom door. When his dressing is finished, the chief trouble that awaits him is the trouble of inspecting, of buying, or refusing to buy, the cigars, the jewels, the lapis lazuli boxes, the Russia leather writing-cases, the exquisite green note-paper, which the tradesmen of Bond Street flock daily to offer to his notice. Every time he goes out of doors he is seriously retarded by the difficulty of deciding what necktie will suit his complexion best, which particular pin out of a tray-load will best suit his necktie, and what walking-stick will go best with both—an 'exotic' growth with a handle of exquisite tortoiseshell, or another 'capped with amber almost as pale 'as a pearl.' We regret that Mr. Whiteing is guilty of one piece of negligence; for, instead of providing his athlete with a dozen exotic buttonholes, brought with the flowers for his balcony, and laid on his dressing-table to choose from, he sends him out to buy one each morning at an ordinary flower shop in Piccadilly. For this lamentable lapse, however, from the true fashionable standard Mr. Whiteing makes his amends by never allowing him to spend less than twenty shillings on his luncheon, and never, we may reasonably assume, less than five pounds on his dinner. This monstrous creature, who sleeps between silk sheets, who bathes in an essenced bath, and sits in a bower of roses, Mr. Whiteing actually imagines to be a type of what men and women of good position to-day regard and admire as 'the finished product of civilisation.'

Mr. Whiteing, however, is even farther astray from reality in his attempts to describe the manner and spirit of

the well-bred world than he is in his account of the sheets in which the fashionable athlete sleeps. Here is a specimen of the way in which a highly placed Court official describes two visits he has just paid in the country :—

‘They did us fine at Chester Races, I can tell you. I was at Appleby’s to meet the Prince, if you please. Our little fandango was rather stately, but they simply went the pace at the Towers. So they did at Rayner’s. The Rayners have lived in France, you know, and they are up to all sorts of little dodges to make the evenings go—scratch hops, Jew-de-society—all that sort of thing.’

The pigeon English of a Chinaman is very much more like this sort of thing than this sort of thing is like the conversation of any possible groom-in-waiting. And a similar observation will apply to Mr. Whiteing’s conversations in high life generally. They sometimes suggest what he might have seen at the bar of some gilded restaurant. They are utterly unlike anything he would hear at any West End club. But not only does he fail to reproduce the tone of fashionable conversation; he utterly fails, in describing his fashionable ladies and gentlemen, to invest them with anything like possible human character. They are merely so many mouthpieces for absurd and grotesque sentiments. In ‘The Island,’ for example, he introduces us to the most exclusive society of Paris, where the ladies habitually address each other as ‘Comtesse’ and ‘Dear Marquise.’ One of them, having described the delights of getting up on a cold morning, in an atmosphere warmed with ‘little gusts of rose vapour,’ says that she heightens her pleasure by looking out of the window and watching the poor jumping in the streets to warm themselves. ‘A quiet little woman, of a sweet sedateness of expression,’ whom the hero of ‘Number 5 John Street’ takes down to dinner at a London house so magnificent that it has a minstrels’ gallery in the dining-room, says that the duty most incumbent on the Church of England to-day is to save the souls of persons in high life by having private services in their drawing-rooms before they dress for dinner—services suited to their ultra-refined needs; and she points to an archbishop on the other side of the table as a person specially designed for this holy and apostolic work. The archbishop, at whom the hero, with characteristic high breeding, has just flipped a pellet of bread, begs the English aristocracy not to despise America, but ‘to believe the best of everybody;’ for the Americans know as well as the English how to keep the poor in their place; are infinitely more ready to shout them

down when they strike; and 'a man,' he says, 'a fortune there and keep it as securely as here.' In fact, every gift of character-drawing which Mr. Whiteing exhibits in 'John Street' he has lost as soon as he migrates to Mayfair or Belgravia.

What concerns us, however, is not the fact, but the reason of it. Mr. Whiteing does justice to John Street because he has really acquired some knowledge of it, and has vitalised his knowledge by an act of imaginative sympathy. Of Mayfair he has no such knowledge at all. And now having glanced in succession at the various interesting lights which Mr. Whiteing's books throw on his capacity as an observer of modern civilisation, let us consider his theories of it, his explanation of the origin of its evils, and the nature of the medicine which he passionately recommends to us as a remedy for them. Seeing, as we have done, how many are the talents possessed by him, and how honest he is in his wish to reveal the truth, his theories, when we examine them, excite in us nothing but astonishment. Put in their briefest form they come simply to this: that the riches of Mayfair are the cause of the poverty at John Street. The inhabitants of John Street make all the wealth of the world. The inhabitants of Mayfair appropriate and squander all of it, except an insignificant fraction, with which John Street buys crusts and cat's meat. So far as the actual productive process is concerned, there is no inherent connexion between the origin of wealth and the distribution of it. The latter depends at present on ill-adjusted social arrangements, and vicious ideals and propensities prevalent through the whole community; but these can be completely changed without the former being affected. The vicious ideals are those which represent as an object in life the attainment by each individual of the best conditions attainable by him. The vicious propensities are propensities to regard this object as the true one. Let us only cease to desire wealth for ourselves, and it will still continue to be produced in order that we may distribute it among our neighbours. In other words, the riches of a nation depend on a process of production which is essentially self-contained, and on which we may always count. The riches of individuals depend on a process of grabbing, with which the process of production, as such, has nothing at all to do; and the poverty of individuals depends on their inability to grab successfully. 'Verily,' exclaims Mr. Whiteing in his imaginary character of aristocrat, 'we are

‘but huge river pike in black and white. Our craving for ‘superfluities’ balks so much honest craving for need.’ ‘You get rich,’ he says, ‘by getting as much as you can for yourself, and giving as little as you can to others.’ ‘Even,’ he continues, ‘if the rich man is not actually a robber, he is using his cleverness to take some one else’s ‘share’—a doctrine which Mr. Whiteing explains with more precision by giving it to us in economic language:—

‘A factory is a place where a number of people work together to simplify the process of appropriating their earnings to one. You give them a little of it back for provender, and keep as much of it as you can for yourself. What you keep back is called capital. They make it all, of course, or some of their forerunners made it, every sou or cent. You get it—that is the main point. Your share is claimed as cost of superintendence, charge for the loan of your brains, or, by-and-by, as interest on your savings—a very superior plea. But it all comes out of labour—*all, all, ALL.*’

Here, with the exception of one important detail, we have simply a reproduction, in their crudest form, of the fallacies which Karl Marx invested with a semblance of science, and imposed for a time on the majority of European Socialists, but which even Socialists have been forced to abandon, and which Marx himself admitted before his death to be quite inadequate as an explanation of economic facts. Over and over again have these fallacies been exposed. Over and over again has it been shown that mere labour, taken by itself, instead of producing ‘all, all, ALL—every sou and cent,’ is, in the production of wealth, merely one force out of many; that taken by itself it produces extremely little, and that if it were really to-day our sole productive agent, we all of us, Mr. Whiteing included, should be shivering, half-starved savages. And yet here, in spite of this, we have a man of Mr. Whiteing’s attainments enunciating it again as some solemn and stupendous truth. He differs, however, from Karl Marx in this—and exhibits in doing so an immense intellectual superiority to him—that whereas Marx attributed the existing inequalities of wealth to the historical vicissitudes of Europe since the close of the feudal ages, coupled with a diabolical brutality inherent in the nature of the rich, Mr. Whiteing attributes them to some deeper and far more general cause—to certain characteristics, certain moral or immoral tendencies, pertaining to the dispositions of rich men and poor men equally. John Street, he says, ‘is merely Bond Street without Bond Street’s luck,’ and he admits that though economic conditions may react

on human nature, it is human nature that is ultimately the cause of economic conditions. But having divined so much of the truth, Mr. Whiteing's error is as follows. Having traced inequalities of wealth to their origin in human nature, he imagines them to originate only in the emotional facts of that nature; he does not see that they primarily originate in the intellectual facts; or, if he sees this, he mistakes entirely the manner in which they originate. He thinks that some men are rich and some poor because, with different opportunities, or a differing quickness in using them, they, in obedience to the same selfish desire, seize upon differing shares of wealth already produced. He fails to see that the main cause of these inequalities is the fact that men, with their differing intellectual gifts, differ indefinitely in the power which they possess of producing it. Mr. Whiteing's analysis of the situation would be partly, though not wholly, true if applied solely to such fortunes as result from a certain class of gambling on the Stock Exchange, or from the promotion of unsound companies. Fortunes which result thus may doubtless, with some justice, be described as due to a process of competitive grabbing, stimulated by the desire of each to grab all he can for himself. But it is not by such a process as this a nation's wealth increases, or that, having increased, it is kept from again dwindling. That vast multiplication of necessities, comforts, and conveniences which is the distinctive feature of the progressive nations of to-day—the mass and substance of the wealth that the rich and poor divide—does not depend on the fact that men struggle to seize them. Nor does it depend on a multiplication of labourers, though it produces this. It depends on the assistance increasingly lent to labour by the power which Mr. Whiteing sneers at as 'precious brains'—a power which enables the same number of labourers to participate in the production of a continuously increasing product. Though without labour there would be no wealth at all, yet without the 'precious brains,' of the wealth that is now produced there would be produced only a fraction; and the 'precious brains' are not only precious, but exceptional. That is to say, in every wealthy community a large part of its wealth owes its existence and its continuance, not to the labours of the many, but to the concentrated intelligence of the few. The intelligence of the few varies in its productive efficacy. Some men produce thousands, another man produces millions, and the origin of individual riches, though it may be partially hidden by inheritance, is as a rule—though

there are doubtless glaring exceptions—not, as Mr. Whiteing imagines, somebody's adroitness in seizing them, but the exceptional efficiency of somebody's power of producing them. They represent, that is to say, not abstractions from an existing stock, but additions to an existing stock, and additions made by the persons who enjoy them now, or by persons from whom those who enjoy them now have inherited them. Mr. Whiteing's attacks on society, as he himself conducts them, have their root in the idea that no man can make himself rich except by making a number of others poorer than they otherwise would be. No idea could be more absolutely false to facts. He might as well argue that if two similar fields are given to two cultivators, one of them by his skill and intelligence cannot double the previous crop without preventing his neighbour from raising any crop at all. It is, of course, obvious that if a man of great individual genius has made a million of money, and employed ten thousand labourers, the workmen would be richer if, instead of keeping it for himself, he made a present of a hundred pounds to each of them, and if he refused to do this they would be poorer than they would have been if he had done it. But his refusal to give them the money which he himself had made, even if we should admit that such a refusal is wrong, is a wrong of a kind altogether different from that of embezzling money that had been made, not by him, but them. Mr. Whiteing mistakes the former process for the latter. He sees a man refuse to give a beggar a shilling, and declares that he has taken a shilling out of the beggar's pocket.

The whole of Mr. Whiteing's case against society as it exists is founded on a misconception. We are not saying that society is not darkened by many evils. We are not saying that Mr. Whiteing is not right in deploring them, and in urging us to seek for them every possible remedy; but that, while he is right in deploring them, he is wrong in his diagnosis of their nature. Such being the case, we will now proceed to show that he is also wrong in his estimate of their extent, and yet more wrong in the prescription which he offers us for a remedy.

That he should be wrong in his estimate of their extent will hardly surprise the reader, who has seen from his fantastic pictures of the lives of the rich and fashionable with what naïve and impassioned credulity he can take fancies for facts. It is not, however, necessary for us to trust to a general inference like this in order to realise how wild a

misconception of facts underlies Mr. Whiteing's misconception of principles. In addition to giving us pictures of the startling inequalities of life, he reduces them in the last chapter of 'Number 5 John Street' to a definite statistical statement. 'Nine-tenths of mankind,' he says—'mankind as it exists in England—still live as brutes in regard to all that makes life worth living, while the other tenth rots, in character with the infirmities of plethora and excess.' Now let us apply these estimates to the actual condition of England. And first we may notice that the ordinary socialistic agitator, while it is his invariable custom when contrasting riches and poverty to declare, as Mr. Whiteing does, that the rich are physically rotten with self-indulgence, also invariably contrasts, when he slightly shifts his ground, the excellent health of the rich with the precarious health of the poor. Both these statements cannot possibly be true. The rich cannot be exceptionally rotten, and at the same time invidiously healthy. As a matter of fact both statements are absurd; but if we confine our conception of the poor to the workers in some certain dangerous industries, the former is truer than the latter, which Mr. Whiteing endorses. But for argument's sake let us accept this latter statement as true. Let us assume that the rich are rotten with plethora and excess, as he says they are. If such be the case, the rich being a tenth of the population, the number of people who are rotting from prodigal self-indulgence cannot, in this country, be less than four millions. Now, how much does it cost a man, in Mr. Whiteing's estimation, to rot in the manner he describes? His typical rich young man, who sleeps between silk sheets, cannot accomplish the feat on less than 7,000*l.* a year allowed him by his father, and some additional thousands which he borrows; the total coming, we may conclude, to at least 10,000*l.*; while as for the father, who is rotting even more obviously than the son, the process costs him annually 100,000*l.* at least. Now, how many people in this country have 100,000*l.* a year? Only seven or eight hundred have more than a fifth of that income. Not more than two thousand have so much as a tenth of it. But perhaps Mr. Whiteing thinks that it is possible to rot with plethora on less. Still, if the hero of the silk sheets, the white and gold awnings, and the bowers of priceless roses, cannot rot on less than 10,000*l.* a year as a bachelor, a family will require at least an equal amount to do so. Now, a few years before Mr. Whiteing's first book was

written the number of families whose incomes were more than half that amount was not more than eight thousand. It is evident, therefore, that according to the most liberal computation, five rotting members being credited to each family, the number of individuals rotting with plethora and excess, instead of being four millions, cannot be possibly more than one-hundredth part of it. But let us make to Mr. Whiteing one concession more—a concession whose liberality he would certainly himself reject. Let us concede that, to enable a family to rot with plethora and excess, an income of 1,000*l.*, instead of 10,000*l.*, is sufficient. The number of families enjoying 1,000*l.* a year and upwards in the United Kingdom does not exceed eighty thousand; and these, if again we multiply the figures by five, will give us a total of four hundred thousand persons, which is only a tenth part of the richer tenth of the population, and of the population as a whole is not a tenth, but a hundredth. Mr. Whiteing, therefore, in his estimate, if we take the most favourable view of it, is about as near to any possible reality as he would be if he said that the height of St. Paul's Cathedral was nearly five thousand feet, or that the average life of a man was seven hundred years. Nor is his estimate of the condition of the poorer classes any truer than his estimate of the richer. Nine-tenths of the population, he says, are still living like brutes, or, in other words, about thirty-six million persons. Now, just as he exemplifies his idea of a man rotting with plethora by the life of the young gentleman who sleeps between silk sheets, so does he exemplify his idea of the man who lives like a brute by the lives of the persons who inhabit Number 5 John Street. Now these are persons, according to Mr. Whiteing's account, who earn from 10*s.* to 18*s.* a week, and if his statement about nine-tenths of the population means anything at all, it means that the life of these is a fair type of the lives of the whole thirty-six millions who are not dying of plethora. How far is this the case? How far do the classes who live in streets like John Street represent the classes as a whole of which the vast total is composed? This is a question which can be answered with some accuracy. In the first place, the thirty-six millions include something like a million persons belonging to families with incomes approaching 200*l.* It includes approximately six million persons belonging to families with incomes approaching 150*l.* Of the male population of workers over fifteen years of age, it includes two millions who earn from 80*l.* to

100%. a year, representing, together with their families, about nine million individuals. It includes three millions who earn about 70%. a year, representing, together with their families, more than thirteen million individuals—and these incomes, it should be remembered, are, in two cases out of five, largely augmented by the earnings of wives and daughters; while of the various grades of workers represented by the inhabitants of John Street, the more prosperous represent less than a sixth of the working population as a whole, and the poorest represent less than a twenty-fifth of it.

Mr. Whiteing's statistical abstract, therefore, of the social conditions of this country is so absolutely false to facts that it can hardly be said to stand in any thinkable relation to them. His descriptions of deplorable poverty apply accurately—and, as we have said before, they are exceptionally good of their kind—to a certain portion of our population. Of this there can be no doubt. But this portion of the population, instead of being nine-tenths of the whole, more nearly approaches one-tenth; while his ludicrous rich men, who are 'rotting with the infirmities of plethora,' could not possibly, if we assume them to be a class at all, amount to as much as a thousandth part of it. In order to bring his ideas and statements into some accordance with reality, without discarding his own phraseology altogether, instead of saying that nine-tenths of the population live the lives of brutes to enable one-tenth to live lives of fabulous luxury, he would have to say that while nine-tenths of the population enjoyed progressive prosperity, one exceptional tenth, for some important reason, are excluded from it.

If Mr. Whiteing is thus astray in his diagnosis of social suffering, it can hardly be expected that he will teach us the way to cure it. A social reformer can no more prescribe for society if, because he feels strongly the horror of its exceptional miseries, he reasons as though these exceptional miseries were the rule, than a doctor can prescribe for a patient who has a crushed foot if, because the foot gives the patient intense pain, the doctor concludes, and bases his treatment on the conclusion, that every organ in the man's body is injured or deranged also. There is no question here of the intensity of the evils referred to. Let us grant that this is even greater than Mr. Whiteing represents it. Mr. Whiteing's error lies in his complete misconception of their extent, and, misconceiving their extent,

he entirely misconceives their origin. What is a local wound or injury he mistakes for an organic disease.

Let us now see how, as a consequence of this mistake, Mr. Whiteing proposes to remedy the suffering which, with so much true feeling, he deplures. Imagining that riches on the one hand, and extreme poverty on the other, result from the simple process of grabbing, with unequal luck, that hence the gain of one man is necessarily the loss of another, and that the grabbing process is due to one fatal desire, which animates all of us, be we successful or unsuccessful, to get for ourselves the largest share we can, the sole remedy, he says, is to eradicate this desire from our hearts. 'Let us cease,' he says, 'to be competitive. Let us cease to be self-helping.' Let the cleverest of us, at the table of life, act merely as 'carvers,' whose sole anxiety is to press the best bits on the stupidest. 'Ring out the old,' he exclaims, 'ring in the new—the great moral renaissance—the new learning of the mind and heart—the new type of man and woman.' Now even here Mr. Whiteing exhibits a philosophic grasp of truth which renders him essentially superior to Socialists of the type of Marx. He sees that no fundamental change in the process of distribution can be permanently established unless we first accomplish a change, fundamental to the same degree and equally permanent, in the average human character. 'As a mere economic formula,' he says, 'Democracy must fade off into vision. . . . The underground system of the human being is the thing we must first set right.' So far as it goes nothing can be more true than this. The only questions we have to ask with regard to it, are the following:—First, whether any fundamental change in the process of distribution is necessary or would be efficient as a remedy for social degradation and misery; and secondly, whether, assuming this economic change to be desirable, the corresponding change which it implies in the average human character is producible. We shall find that the answer to both these questions is a negative.

With regard to the first, we have only to insist once more on a truth which we have expressed already, namely, that the real causes to which the inequalities of wealth are due, while they are to be sought, as Mr. Whiteing says they are, in the characteristics of human nature, are not to be sought in the characteristics of it which Mr. Whiteing imagines. They are not to be sought in the universality of a selfish desire to appropriate wealth; they are to be sought

in the great inequalities of men's powers of producing it. It may, perhaps, be argued that a man's desire to keep what he has produced himself is just as reprehensible as a desire to grab what he has not produced; but, as a force acting on society, it is, at all events, a different desire. It sets in motion a different series of processes. It sets in motion processes, not of abstraction from the total of wealth, but of addition to it. It is in itself, therefore, not the ultimate cause of poverty, and consequently the abolition of it would not be the abolition of poverty. On the contrary, the reverse is the case. It is a fact attested by the history of modern industrialism that the exceptional producers of wealth are never able to keep the whole of their produce. For various causes a part of each new increment which their talent and enterprise add to the national stock finds its way into the pockets of those who have not produced it. Of the additional efficiency which common labour derives from the aid which exceptional talent and enterprise lend to it, and which it would lose the moment they were not induced to exert themselves, common labour is constantly receiving a percentage which not only increases in its absolute amount, but also tends to increase relatively to the fund from which it is taken. This is the reason of that general rise of wages which has taken place during the past sixty years, and has extended itself to the whole population except one particular fraction of it. Putting this fraction aside, the desire of the individual to possess wealth—the desire which is at the root of competition, and which Mr. Whiteing wishes to extinguish as the ultimate cause of poverty—is the cause of the diffusion of a gradually increasing prosperity. Does Mr. Whiteing think that if ten thousand workmen were obliged to work for one particular employer, they would not be much more likely to be better housed, to receive larger wages, and to be better cared for in every possible way if the employer, by his enterprise, should make a constantly increasing income than they would be if from his apathy or incompetence his business remained stationary or dwindled? As for the unrelieved poverty of the non-progressive fraction which excites Mr. Whiteing's pity, and deserves the pity of all, we shall never be able to understand it, we shall never be able to alleviate it, till we learn to realise that it is the exception and not the rule. Let us realise this, and we shall realise that the true cause of this fraction's condition lies not outside itself but within itself; and that it is poor, not because others have seized on

exceptional wealth, but because to the process of producing it it contributes exceptionally little. If it is to be helped, as a whole, at all—if its condition is to be really raised, the object of the reformer must be, not, as Mr. Whiteing thinks, to make the rest of the community essentially different from what it is, but to make this fraction less different than it is from the rest of the community. If Mr. Whiteing wished to study the effectiveness of a university as a teaching body, he would not go from college to college picking out the idlers and the drunkards, or the men who from mere feebleness either of will or intellect are dunces. He would test the scholarship of the more brilliant, and especially of the ordinary students; and if he wished to redeem the dunces, he would never think of doing so by dissuading others from competing for the Hertford scholarship. Exceptional poverty, as a whole, has no more essential connexion with exceptional wealth, as a whole, than exceptional incompetence at a university has with exceptional talent. Even Mr. Whiteing himself sees this truth at moments, though he has totally failed to incorporate it into his doctrine of life. In one place he observes that even in a collection of savage huts one hut will be found more squalid and more ragged than the rest. Does he think that this one is squalid and ragged because the rest are clean and neat? When he is making the observation referred to he does not even suggest it. He does not suggest that, because nine of the huts are clean, the tenth hut is dirty; or that to improve the latter it is necessary to interfere with the former. In every civilisation there are elements of wrong; but taken as a whole, and certain parts being excepted, it is always, relatively to human possibilities, right. In other words, there is always—just as there is always in the most diseased human body—less to be altered than there is to be nourished and maintained. Mr. Whiteing argues as though, because the body politic has crushed one of its feet, the way to cure its foot was to cut out its lungs. His failure as a social philosopher arises out of two errors. In the first place, he takes a tenth of the population as a type of nearly the whole. In the second place, with regard to the redemption of this submerged tenth, he fails to see that the true business of the reformer is not to teach the majority to become unlike themselves, but to help the minority to become less unlike the majority.

And now, having shown that Mr. Whiteing's proposed revolution in the whole 'underground system of the human

‘being’—his proposed extinction of the instincts of ‘competition and self-help’—would not even touch the actual causes of poverty, let us consider whether such a revolution can be regarded as a possible cure for it. We may grant at once that, under certain imaginable circumstances, it would be; but those imaginable circumstances would include other revolutions in the human being in addition to those that Mr. Whiteing so resolutely advocates. It is imaginable that the congenitally strong and the congenitally industrious might be persuaded to give to the congenitally stupid and the congenitally idle everything that they are too stupid and idle to make or to provide for themselves; but unless this remedy is to increase the evil it is designed to cure human nature must be altered not only by eradicating our selfishness, but by also eradicating a tendency in it which at present is universal, and which practically incapacitates a man from ever doing for himself anything which he can securely count on another man’s doing for him. If Mr. Whiteing could accomplish all this, if he could make man’s moral nature something totally different from what it is, there would no doubt result from the change a society totally different from anything that at present exists, and from anything that has ever existed. But if he considers that changes of such a radical kind are practicable, he might propose to accomplish his object in a considerably simpler way. Instead of revolutionising men’s moral qualities, he might equalise their mental or quadruple their physical capacities. He might endow every one with the genius of a Columbus, a Watt, or an Edison. He might give them all wings; he might give them twenty hands; instead of providing them with fuel he might make them impervious to cold. All these changes would be easier and shorter cuts to the abolition of the pains of poverty than the revolution of their moral natures. Mr. Whiteing admits that the moral nature of mankind has never fundamentally changed from the dawn of history to to-day. What grounds has he for supposing that it will be fundamentally changed now? The operation of the human desires can be doubtless greatly modified—greatly for the worse, greatly also for the better, just as the body is susceptible of various degrees of health. But though a sick man may be made healthy, and a healthy man may be made sick, the respective functions of the organs always remain the same; the saint’s mouth and the murderer’s mouth are both between the nose and chin; and precisely the same truth holds good of the human

character. It can be indefinitely modified, as we see in the case of the sexual instincts, but it can never be fundamentally changed. If the sexual instincts had undergone no modifications, men to-day would be no better than monkeys. If the sexual instincts had been extinguished, as Mr. Whiteing proposes to extinguish the instinct of self-help, there would be to-day no men in existence. As soon as we lose the instinct to help ourselves we shall have but few resources out of which we may help others.

Mr. Whiteing's views, therefore, of the existing conditions of society, of the nature and origin of its evils, of the means by which its evils may be remedied, bear no relation as a whole to facts or possibilities at all. It may, then, be asked why we have been at some pains to examine them, and to this question we must give two separate answers. Our first answer is, that though Mr. Whiteing's views are absolutely false as a whole, yet they are urged as a whole with an earnestness, with a sincere conviction, and with what many readers will feel to be a singular persuasiveness, and are interspersed with observations and descriptions, individually true and accurate, which tend, in the eyes of the inexperienced, to render these views plausible. Now such views as Mr. Whiteing's, in proportion to their plausibility, are mischievous; they tend not so much to awaken social sympathy as to inflame it, to produce a fever of mind rather than a healthy activity, and to disqualify a man from dealing with poverty in proportion as they fix his attention on it. We have therefore thought it our duty to examine them with some minuteness, in order to exhibit to the reader their absolutely misleading character.

But, in addition to this reason for doing so, we have also another. In examining these views we have examined them with constant reference to the character and capacities of the author who puts them forward, and besides pointing out how inaccurate these views are, it has been our purpose to consider a yet more important question—the question of How is it that the author has come to hold them? We call this question important because, as we have said already, Mr. Whiteing is a type—and a highly favourable type—of a section of the community whose influence is often great. He is a type of a peculiar section of the English middle class which is distinguished less by any special intellectual qualities than it is by what we may call an idiosyncrasy of moral temperament. Its members for the most part are thoughtful and educated persons, and some of them have

mental gifts of a very high order; but it is not such gifts alone that make them a peculiar people.' What makes them peculiar is the fact that associated with their mental gifts are a peculiar susceptibility to certain kinds of emotion and an exceptional pertinacity of purpose, which develops itself when their emotions are roused. These emotions are all of a marked and well-known character. They are essentially on the side of what those persons who feel them believe to be the right, or, as they usually call it, righteousness, and an element of right or righteousness invariably forms a part of them.' But invariably also, together with this element of right, is a chronic disposition to believe that the world in general is wrong. It is a disposition which keeps them in continual readiness to protest, to point out evils, to denounce them, to make the most of them, and to lay them to the charge of those whose temperaments are different from their own. In itself this combination of emotion and instinctive protest, though it would of necessity often result in unfairness, might often be productive of far more good than evil, and would have, at all events, no general tendency to be mischievous, if to any efficient degree it were controlled by an impartial intellect. But this is precisely the thing that fails to happen. The persons to whom we are now alluding are, as we said just now, for the most part persons of active and educated minds. They are men of reading and observation, they are often skilful in argument, they have the mental capacities necessary for forming sound judgements; but their emotions and the spirit of protest—which is a form of emotion—are so strong in them that, instead of being controlled by reason and adjusting their conclusions to what it tells them, it is not by their reason, but by their emotions, that they allow their conclusions to be shaped, and they merely employ their reason—the conclusions having been settled already—to make out a formal case for them, and support them by an appeal to facts.

It is of persons who feel, who argue, who convince themselves thus, and who, being convinced themselves, endeavour to influence others, that Mr. Whiteing offers so interesting and so complete an example, and he is an example which he himself has enabled us to examine and analyse. His books are, as it were, working models of his own personality, and they show us that type of personality in its strongest and its weakest parts. Though we cannot regard him as a first-class writer, his writings show us, as we have taken

pains to explain, that he is not only a well-meaning, but an exceptionally gifted man. He would probably, if his emotions did not enslave his intellect, be an acute social philosopher instead of a blind enthusiast. Of the parliament of philanthropists he might be a shrewd and sagacious member. But his natural sagacity and the natural fairness of his judgement are enslaved by his emotions, and put to inverted uses. His very powers of accurate observation help to mislead. His whole book, 'Number 5 John Street,' is one prolonged illustration of this fact. The mental and emotional processes exemplified in that book are these: Mr. Whiteing starts with a knowledge, not peculiar to himself, that even in the richest of countries there is a great deal of miserable poverty. Wherever he goes examples of it meet his eye. They touch him profoundly. They excite and fill his imagination, and his imagination gradually represents to him this miserable poverty as so general that nothing rises above it but the riches of the unjustly rich. He then says to himself, 'But I will not trust to my feelings; I will see of my own experience if this general poverty be really so miserable as I feel it to be.' He accordingly selects a house in one of those London streets which correspond most completely with his idea of what poverty is, and in this house he lives for six weeks, consorting with its inmates and earning his bread as they do. At the end of this period he says, 'Now I know all about it. My emotions told me truly. I have chapter and verse for everything.' He describes his experiences. He gives them to the world as a challenge, and to any one who maintains that his views as to the miseries of the poor are exaggerated, he replies, 'I am better qualified to speak about them than you, for, unlike you, I have known them and felt them personally.'

The whole fallacy of Mr. Whiteing's procedure, and the procedure of those represented by him, is here exemplified. It is a fallacy of a double kind. In the first place, it is reasoning in a circle. His great thesis is that miserable poverty is general—that it is not confined to an exceptional part of the population. He studies minutely poverty among the part in which it is admitted to exist; he gives a vivid picture of its misery as he there finds it; and because he has succeeded in showing that it is miserable where it admittedly exists, he imagines himself to have demonstrated that it exists very nearly everywhere. He might as well give us a vivid study of Bedlam, and then

argue that the whole of England was mad. The two propositions have nothing to do with one another. To show how miserable a part of the population is does nothing to show how large a part of it is miserable. In the second place, even when dealing with the nature of the admitted misery, Mr. Whiteing—though here he has done his best to be accurate—is prevented by the strength of his emotions from being as accurate as he might be. The tears in his eyes make him see double. He not only sees John Street as its habitual inhabitants see it, but he sees it also as it is seen by a stranger with different habits and standards. He sees it as an Egyptian might see the life of the Esquimaux if he were suddenly taken from the Nile to the North Pole. Such a man would not only see that the North Pole is colder than Egypt—he would imagine that the natives felt it to be as cold as he did. Thus even the more accurate part of Mr. Whiteing's observations is exaggerated. His description of John Street presents us with a confusion of two different and distinct contentions. One is that its inhabitants are pitiable because their own condition revolts them; another is that they are miserable for the precisely opposite reason—that it does not revolt them as much as it revolts him. Both contentions may, in part, be equally true; but they are contentions which deal with distinct sets of phenomena, and to give either its value the two ought to be separated. In Mr. Whiteing's case, however, this error is trivial—though it is not so in the case of many writers of similar sympathies—compared with the error he commits in taking the part for the whole, and fancying that because he has shown how really deplorable is the condition of a fraction of the population, he has shown that it is common to the larger part of the remainder. That he should be capable of fancying this will to many people seem incredible; but a similar mental procedure is the distinguishing characteristic of the whole class of social reformers to which Mr. Whiteing belongs. Susceptible as they are to human wrong and suffering, they have an irresistible tendency to confuse the intensity of suffering with its extent. Because they feel that it is impossible to exaggerate the one, they are led to think that it is impossible to exaggerate the other; and so possessed are they by this conviction, that if anybody cooler-headed than themselves presumes to tell them that any social evil, horrible though it may be in itself, is relatively small in extent, they denounce such a critic as an indifferentist, who

has neither heart nor knowledge. The truth is, that though in calling attention to the existence of extreme poverty the most valuable quality may be an emotional appreciation of its horror—an appreciation such as that which dominates Mr. Whiteing's nature---the main quality required in devising any general alleviation of it is a power of examining it without any passion whatever, and arriving at an estimate of it in terms not of its quality, but of its quantity. To neglect this side of the inquiry, as Mr. Whiteing neglects it, is not to misconceive the extent of the evil only, but also to misconceive the causes from which it really springs, and to obscure instead of indicating the means by which the evil may be alleviated. Mr. Whiteing and the class of emotional reformers represented by him may render the cause of progress good service with their hearts, but, if this is to be so, the counsel which their hearts offer must be rigorously controlled and modified by quite other people's heads.

ART. III. -*Religion in Greek Literature.* By LEWIS CAMPBELL, M.A., LL.D. London, New York, and Bombay: 1898.

PROFESSOR CAMPBELL'S contribution to the history of Greek religion appears at an opportune time. It appears at a moment when scholars do not fear to recognise that the Lesser Archæology, as Mr. Hogarth terms it in his preface to 'Authority and Archæology'—that is to say, the science which deals with the material remains of the human past—is not the whole of archæology; and that there is a Greater Archæology which takes for its domain all documents, whether literary or material. The 'science of religion' during its comparatively brief existence has busied itself much with myth and ritual, the lesser matters, and has somewhat overlooked the existence of the religious spirit. It has added largely to our knowledge of the forms and circumstances of the religious life of the historic and pre-historic past, but of that life itself it has told us little. If that deficiency is to be remedied, if we are to understand what Greek myths and rites meant for the Greeks, it is to Greek literature that we must go, and it is the religious element in Greek literature—the subject of Professor Campbell's work—that we must consult.

From this point of view, it is obvious, the origins of Greek religion have little interest. Whether the gods of Greece were or were not originally personifications of sun or dawn, or storm, it is certain that for the average Greek of the classical period they were not natural phenomena personified, but independent, divine personalities; and if it could be proved that Hermes was originally a wind-god, as Roscher maintains, the fact would throw not the slightest light on the frame of mind in which the god was approached by a worshipper who did not know that Hermes had anything to do with the wind. Questions as to the origin of mythology are also irrelevant; myths in their original form, whatever that was, may have been very different from the guise in which they were presented to the Greek of the fifth century B.C., but it was in their fifth century form that they were known to him and exercised their influence on him personally and on the religious belief and life of the fifth century. Thus Professor Campbell resolutely, and rightly, turns his back upon the period of 'beggarly elements' and crude beginnings, which, as he says, explain little, and, we may

add, are much the same all the world over. He prefers to address himself to the period of 'originality and bloom' in which the higher minds of Hellas dealt with the problems of religion after their own fashion. His object is to discover not what Greek religion evolved out of, but what it evolved or tended to evolve into; not its origins, but its tendencies. He sees in the history of Greek religion a process of evolution, but for that very reason he looks to find in it not merely attenuated survivals of savage myths and barbarous rites and nothing more, but signs of substantial growth, the gradual acquisition of new and higher spiritual truths.

Professor Campbell's attitude in this matter is one of many indications that the scientific conception of evolution, after long dominating the thought of the nineteenth century, is giving way to a more philosophic conception. The physical sciences find the whole explanation of any given event in the antecedent circumstances which produced it; and evolution, for those who approach it from the side of the physical sciences, reduces itself to a perpetually regressive search after causes, the causes of those causes, and their causes again. Thus the only and the whole explanation that can be given of anything consists in an accurate statement of the antecedent circumstances out of which it was evolved. Hence it has been a dictum, long unchallenged, that no explanation of anything can be accepted as satisfactory in the nineteenth century which does not trace the thing back to its origin. This conception of the method of evolution, as an instrument of scientific investigation, has been unhesitatingly accepted from the physical sciences by those students who take man, his words, and thoughts and works for their domain; and it is, accordingly, the origins of civilisation and society, morality and religion, which for a quarter of a century or more have almost exclusively been studied. But now, even before the work in this direction has been fully accomplished, doubts are beginning to be felt whether the only explanation which a study of origins can give is any explanation at all--indeed, whether the origins themselves can be properly understood except in the light of their subsequent evolution and of their highest developement. If we assume, as is generally assumed, that the course of human evolution has on the whole been one of developement, progress, and advance, though in many times and in many places there have been failures, decay, and decline, it is obviously of scientific importance to be able to discriminate those elements in the origins of any institution which are

the seeds of growth from those which contain the germs of decay. But it is only by their fruits that we can know them, it is only from a knowledge of the effect produced that we can learn the nature of the producing cause. There is no *a priori* method of telling by simply inspecting the origins of a thing what it may develop into; on the contrary, if we do not know the full extent of what we have to explain, if we do not know it in its highest developement, there is considerable danger that we may overlook some of the most important of the antecedent circumstances and may form an incomplete and one-sided view of the origins, or even be mistaken as to what the origins actually were. If we are to pick out from among the innumerable fantastic, incoherent beliefs, customs, and ideas of the savage, those which contain the seeds of religious progress, and, distinguishing them from the element which will hereafter hamper that progress, are to call them the origins of religion, we must have, to start with, some idea of what progress in religion is.

It seems at first sight a truism to say that, before we can begin to inquire as to the cause of a thing, we must know what the thing is, and be able to distinguish it from other things. But this trivial truism, when pushed to its logical conclusions, yields an apparent paradox. When we compare the religion of civilised man with the beliefs of savages and barbarians, we feel no doubt that there has been improvement and advance in religion, and we should not have any insuperable difficulty in stating the nature of the progress that has been made. We can define the progress sufficiently well to justify us in proceeding to try to detect its causes, and to arrange the various forms of religion as higher and lower, according as they approximate to our conception of what is highest. But whence do we get this conception of what is highest? We cannot say that existing forms—whether of religion, or society, or law, or civilisation—are highest simply because they are the latest in time. It is clear that some forms which have been later in time have been lower than those which preceded them; and not only do we classify some existing forms as lower than others, but no existing form is accepted, even by all its adherents, as thoroughly satisfactory—the most earnest of its adherents are most earnest in their endeavours to bring it somewhat nearer to their ideal of what it should be. It is by their ideal that they measure not only the advance which they hope to make, but the progress which has been made since the beginning of things. If we do not consider the existing

state of things in society or religion - as perfectly satisfactory, it is because we have an ideal which the existing state of things does not come up to; and consequently the standard by which we measure the progress that has been made in the course of human evolution is not approximation to things as they are at the end of the nineteenth century, but approximation to our ideal of what they ought to be.

Thus starting from the apparently harmless proposition that we cannot discover the causes of a thing if we do not know what the thing is whose causes we are to inquire into, we are landed eventually in idealism, and committed to the doctrine that we cannot tell what is real unless we first know the ideal. This is the philosophic conception of evolution which Professor Campbell prefers to the scientific. It interprets the whole course of human evolution as a process of approximation, broken and interrupted at times and in places, but on the whole a continual approximation, to the ideal. It seeks the explanation of the process not in antecedent circumstances and causes producing effects mechanically, but in the ideals for which men have striven, if not always successfully, yet not always in vain. The evolution of religion accordingly consists in man's strivings after the supreme reality, which is the ideal; and Professor Campbell, after quoting the words of St. Paul, 'that they should seek the Lord if haply they might feel after Him and find Him,' goes on to say:

'In the wildest aberrations of the religious consciousness there is yet a groping after the supreme, a craving desire to realise what is more and mightier than man, and to find a support whereon his weakness may rely. There would be no progress if there were no shadows to be done away. Our aim should be to bring out from amidst their grosser surroundings those broken lights of higher things which come to us refracted through the thoughts of men.' (P. 2.)

The history of Greek religion, accordingly, is unintelligible except upon the assumption that in it also the moving principle was not mere mechanical causation, but a striving after the ideal, a struggling onwards to the goal:—

'If in the earliest articulate utterance of the Hellenic spirit we discern a profound conviction that the Power which is supreme sends down inevitable redress of wrong, guards jealously the family bond, protects the suppliant and the stranger, and tempers even justice with deep human pity; if, as history advances, the conviction of the divinity of justice and of the nobleness of self-devotion clears and widens more and more; if a yearning after religious purity springs up unbidden, and suggests a brightening hope of future blessedness;

if, as thought awakens, the human spirit, weary of the play of imagination and prompted by some divinely kindled spark, begins consciously to reach after "the One," "the Whole," "the True" . . . shall we be told that this struggling of noble hearts and minds to live and think aright is all in vain—that they were pressing to no goal?' (P. 3.)

If the struggle to live and think aright was then, and is now, a struggle which a reasonable man may reasonably be expected to undertake, then the object striven for cannot be a mere illusion: the ideal is implied to be real and valid; there was a goal to which the noble hearts and minds of ancient Greece were pressing. If we ask whence they derived that ideal, and how they divined the goal, the answer is, 'There is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of 'the Almighty giveth them understanding.' Hence on the one hand the Hellenic spirit could lend much of its intellectual form to historical Christianity; while, on the other hand, the value of the ideas thus historically assimilated has not yet been exhausted. Indeed, the religious element in Greek literature, properly studied, may yet help to meet what a thinker of our time has called 'the deepest want of 'our age: a new definition of God.' (P. 1.)

Though we cannot agree with Professor Campbell in regarding 'a new definition of God' as a happy or an adequate mode of expressing what is undoubtedly 'an ever-recurring 'want of humanity in passing from one stage of enlightenment to another,' there can be no doubt that the only fruitful and the only scientific way of treating Greek religion, or any other religion, is to deal with it as a phase of the evolution of religion in general. It is a part of a larger whole; and, if it is to be viewed aright, it must be viewed in the light which a knowledge of the larger whole throws upon it. Important as it is to recognise fully and explicitly the distinction between religions and religion, and constantly to bear in mind that none of the forms which religion takes from time to time is an adequate expression of its spirit, it is yet more important to recognise the underlying unity of which all forms are but the manifestations, and the progressive revelation of which constitutes the evolution of religion. To discover wherein this underlying unity consists is a work essential to be done, if the science of religion is to make any further progress, and it is also precisely the point which until quite recently has been most neglected by that science.

The contemplation of creeds outworn, of beliefs which

men have lived and died for, but which we now have outlived so far that they seem grotesque and even repellent, is apt to disquiet the faith of some and to strengthen the scepticism of others. Those who are thus discouraged and those who are thus encouraged are alike wrong: neither can see the forest for the trees; both are tempted to imagine that, because religions are many, religion there is none. To their encouragement or discouragement, however, science, as such, rightly is indifferent. But the fallacy to which they fall victims is one which it is of vital interest to her to controvert. If there is no religion, there is no science of religion. If there is no underlying unity between religions, the law of continuity does not hold with regard to them, and there is no evolution of religion. These elementary considerations are obscured from the view probably by the difficulty of defining the underlying unity and of expressing the reality which resides not indeed behind, but rather (though in different degrees) in all forms of religion. The biologist, however, is confronted with identically the same difficulty when he attempts to define 'life.' But the difficulty does not lead him to the conclusion that life does not exist. It causes him indeed to reject from time to time definitions which are inadequate, or which are inconsistent with the facts that he has to account for. It does not lead him to doubt the reality of life in the various forms in which he studies it. Even the long array of extinct flora and fauna presented by the geologic record has not the depressing effect on him which the contemplation of creeds outworn has upon the less scientific minds that concern themselves with the history of religion. Indeed, with a little more faith in science, they might derive considerable consolation from his example. When haunted by the somewhat unreasonable fear that religion may after all prove to belong to the pathology of mind, they might reflect that the biologist does not regard life as a pathological affection of matter: he takes himself and his subject too seriously for that. When reluctant to face all the consequences of the fact that lower forms give way to higher, they might take comfort in reflecting that as the biologist has no reason to expect the advent of a higher species than man, so they need expect a higher form not than but of Christianity.

As it is easier for the biologist to define any given species or variety of animal than to define life itself, so it is easier for the student of religion to define any particular form of religion than religion itself. The reason is that each form has its

limit: every system has its day, and, when the day is done, may be viewed in its entirety, and may be dealt with as a completed whole. But in the life of religion there is no finality: it is a feeling after God, a constant hungering and thirsting for righteousness, a perpetual struggling to do and think aright, an approximation to an ideal never fully realised. Thus, while a religion may be defined in terms stating what it is, religion must be defined in terms of what it tends to be. The form which religion takes in any given place and time is conditioned by the human imperfections of those in whom the spirit of religion manifests itself. The shape and course which religion actually took, subject as it was to the limitations of those imperfections, may be accurately defined. What, but for those limitations, it might have been, we cannot say. But the methods of the comparative sciences, when applied to religion, may enable us to form some conjecture. We cannot eliminate human imperfections from any religious system any more than we can eliminate friction entirely from any system of mechanism; but the elimination may be carried out in various degrees in various systems, and so afford us some measure of the retardation which the friction of an imperfect mechanism causes.

The comparative science of religion must always be largely concerned with the human imperfections which deflect and pervert, check and thwart the religious impulse and religious aspirations of man; and human nature, or its limitations, is so much the same in all times and in all places, that the limitations themselves afford copious materials for comparison with one another and ample scope for the employment of the comparative method. The restricted range of the savage's knowledge, the poverty of his material resources, the low developement of his morality, the narrow bonds of his tribal system and social organisation, all confine his activity—physical, mental, emotional, and religious—to grooves which are strikingly similar everywhere. If in the same stage of culture he everywhere makes his weapons of flint and his vessels of earthenware, it is because everywhere he is still ignorant of the use of metals. If everywhere he uses the same misleading analogies to explain the action of natural forces, to account for the existence of life and of death, to justify his tribal customs, or to frame his mythologies and cosmogonies, it is because everywhere he is still in the darkness of ignorance.

But, though his limitations are so similar and their action so uniform, it is a mistake to imagine that their similarity is what the continuity of religion consists in, or that they constitute the whole of the facts of which the comparative science of religion has to render an account. Yet there has been a constant tendency in the science of religion to overlook the existence of the religious impulse, and to deny that religious aspirations are a motive force contributing to the forward movement of civilisation and of man. The mistake is the same as if we were to allege the absence of metal as the reason of flint implements or earthenware vessels, and were to overlook or deny the existence of the needs and purposes which they were created to satisfy. The similarity between the implements used by all peoples in the Stone Age is only partially accounted for by their ignorance of metals; the fundamental reason of the similarity is the fundamental similarity of the physical needs of man. In the same way the fundamental similarity of other human needs—social, moral, and spiritual—is the fact indicated by the similarity which marks the social organisation, the moral institutions, and religious conceptions of all primitive peoples.

We reach the same conclusion if we take, so to speak, a longitudinal, instead of a transverse, section of culture. Rifle and bullet fulfil the same function as the bow and flint arrow-head; and the former weapon has been evolved through the cross-bow, out of the latter. A rifle is not a bow; the only points the two implements have in common are the function which they discharge and the human needs which they subserve. The motive force which has evolved the one weapon out of the other is the human need which has been constant throughout successive generations of men, and which has steadily accumulated a number of successive gradual improvements in the instrument which has for its function to meet that need. Modern science is as superior to the crude speculations and unverified guesses of the savage, as modern man's weapons are to the savage's. But his science has been evolved out of that of the savage, and still satisfies, though more completely, the same material wants, and still is prompted by the same intellectual aspiration to reach a satisfactory explanation of things, *rerum cognoscere causas*.

Thus, though human imperfections play a large part in all religions, though they condition the forms of religion and contribute largely to determine the shapes which it takes in

different times and different places, it is not in those imperfections and limitations that the continuity of religion consists, nor do they constitute the underlying unity between all forms of religion. To take into account only the impediments and obstacles which divert or pervert the current of the religious life, and to leave out of account the aspirations and needs, the impulse and tendency, which beat against those obstacles and sometimes overwhelm them, betrays a radical misconception of the function and sphere of the science of religion.

The forms of religion and of religious belief are, however, so diverse and often so contradictory that the attempt to discover wherein the unity of religion consists has frequently failed, and is often put on one side as hopeless. As long as the attempt is made to discover some belief or practice common to and characteristic of all forms of religion, and to see in that belief or rite the underlying unity of all religions, the attempt is probably foredoomed to failure. Either the belief selected for the purpose is one which might be accepted, with some straining and accommodation, as not doing gross injustice to the higher forms of religion—in which case the lower forms will fail to reach the standard, and the formula will, in consequence, not be all-embracing; or else the formula, if all-comprehensive, will simply state some external characteristic which may be a mark common to all forms of religion, but which will contain no religious significance whatever. If the religious beliefs and rites of the lowest and dirtiest savages contain all that is essential in religion, the later additions of civilised religions must be mere surplusage. Otherwise the savage has not got hold of everything essential, and a definition which is adequate for his religion will necessarily be inadequate for a higher form.

What constitutes the continuity of religion through all its various and manifold forms, from the lowest to the highest, is the fact that they are all expressions of the religious spirit, not that they are all varieties of the same expression. The problem they attempt to solve is the same, but the solutions are not the same. The continuity between the rifle and the bow consists neither in the materials used nor in the force employed, but in the purpose which the weapons are put to and the needs which they subserve. The gun is the more effective weapon of the two, but the function of the two is the same, though the forms are absolutely dissimilar and incapable of being brought under one and the same definition. Thus, though the forms of religion

may not be capable of being brought under any one common definition, there may still be an underlying continuity between them. But, if we are to discover what it is that unites them, we must consider, not what they are, but what they tend to be; their bond of union consists in the fact that they all express certain tendencies common to all mankind, not that they express those tendencies in the same or similar beliefs, rites, ceremonies, or forms. 'They seek the Lord, if haply they may feel after Him and find Him.' The arrow finds its mark as well, if not so surely, as the bullet; and the lowest form of religion, so far as it is religion, embodies the same tendencies, however rudimentary and undeveloped, as the highest. Lowest and highest are united by the fact that both are attempts, if only attempts, to realise the ideal of religion in thought, word, and deed.

What, then, are these tendencies which manifest themselves in all forms of religion, and which, so far as they are tendencies to belief, may be termed the common faith of mankind? What is that recurring need of humanity which all forms of religion strive to satisfy, though with differing creeds, different rites, and very various degrees of success? and how do that need and those tendencies manifest themselves in Greek literature?

From the beginning Greek literature speaks on this point with the frankness and directness customary to and characteristic of the Greek mind. 'All men have need of the gods,' says Homer, with the unclouded serenity of one enunciating a simple fact of common observation. Æschylus, describing the horrors of the retreating Persians' passage across the Strymon, when the ice gave way beneath their weight, says, with the same direct simplicity: 'Then many a man prayed to the gods who never prayed before.' The lyric poets, if they do not repeat the observation of the epic poet and the dramatist, do more—they exemplify it in their own practice. As Professor Campbell says, 'in their hours of most intense consciousness and passionate emotion the appeal to powers above themselves—Zeus, Apollo, Demeter, Dionysus, Aphrodite, Eros—breaks forth instinctively, as from a source of inexhaustible fulness from which they draw a momentary inspiration' (p. 115).

Every need which is strong enough to make itself felt prompts a man to set about satisfying it. Instinctive needs set up or start automatically the actions necessary to appease them. Needs not instinctive prompt actions of a more or less random character, which may or may not

succeed, according as they are wisely or unwisely selected and directed, and which require some exercise of reason. Such action implies a conviction that it is possible to satisfy the need in question. The belief is not based on evidence : it is something which is taken for granted. It is a conviction which is given with the need, and rises to the surface of consciousness from the same unknown depths of man's nature as the need itself. The need which Homer says all men have implies, for its logical justification, the belief that the gods have the will and do incline to hearken to man's prayer. And as the Greek spirit was to be explicit, Homer found the simplest and most direct expression for this simplest creed : 'A god, if he so will, may save even from afar.' The religious ideal, manifested in this simple faith, already is a Power which is or may be friendly to man.

About the power of the gods to save there could be no question. That they also had the will was matter of common knowledge ; not only did Apollo in the *Iliad* help his priest, not only were Achilles, Odysseus, and Ulysses constantly befriended by Athênê, but Themistocles could say of the defeat of Xerxes, 'This deliverance is the work of the gods ;' in the storms which wrecked the Persian fleet at Artemisium, the Athenians recognised the hand of a friendly god, Boreas. If all men have need of the gods, most men in the hour of deliverance from great danger have gratitude also ; and feeling from their hearts 'it is not we ourselves,' they can give the glory where it is due, as does Pindar, speaking of the battle of Salamis : 'Now might Salamis bear witness to her deliverance by Ægina's seamen and the destroying tempest of Zeus, when death came thick as hail on the unnumbered hosts. Yet let no boast be heard. Zeus ordereth this or that.' 'Te Deum laudamus'—'not unto us, but to thy name, O Athena, be the praise'—is the natural expression at such times of all decent minds. Professor Campbell points to the parallel between the defeat of the Persians and the destruction of the Spanish Armada : —

'We have lately heard the story of the Armada from the Spanish side, and know more fully than we did how many causes worked together with British patriotism, courage, and seamanship to bring about that overthrow. But those who felt the joy and exultation of the deliverance knew nothing of this ; they knew only that the big black cloud which threatened England had been rolled away, and they acknowledged with grateful pride the daring defence of Howard, Drake, and Frobisher, and their brave seamen, and the protecting hand of God over their land.' (P. 194.)

But though faith in a Power able and willing to save, at hand in the time of need, and never at any time far from any one of us, goes to the root of the matter, and is the earliest expression of the religious ideal in Greek literature, the ideal is not manifested fully, or clear from ambiguity, in that simple faith. Potentially it may be present, but a long process of evolution was necessary before it could reach even such developement as was possible for it in Greek religion. The ideal was visible, but there was no clear vision in the days of Homer or even of the Persian invasion. 'A god, if he will, may save.' But, if he does no ill? The god of the religious ideal may be a friendly power. There is also the possibility that he may actually be something but friendly. When Themistocles restrained the Athenians from the pursuit of Xerxes, he not only said, in the words quoted above, 'This deliverance is the work of the gods,' but added, 'whose jealousy would not suffer the pride of an impious man. Let us not provoke them by following our advantage too far, but let us rebuild our ruined temples, and restore our homesteads and our family hearths.' It is true that Themistocles ascribes the jealousy of the gods to the impiety of man; but the 'malignity of the deity' was believed by the Greeks to go much further and do much worse than punish the impious. We cannot think that Professor Campbell is right in saying that 'in regard to human life the ruling thought [of Herodotus] is that of the divine envy or malignity, which is exemplified in the countless miseries of mankind and the insecurity of good fortune;' for in this matter, as in most others, Herodotus, as a faithful reporter of what he has learned by inquiry, is reproducing, along with the facts which he has elicited from others, the light in which his informants saw them and the tone which they unconsciously imparted to their narratives. The striking folk-tales which he records were and are striking because of the views of life which they convey. This particular class of tale owes its interest and its vitality to the very fact that the divine envy is its *motif*. Strip such a tale of its moral—or its anti-moral—and it becomes worthless for literary purposes. Herodotus was too much of an artist to write history in that manner.

There can, however, be no doubt that the malignity of the deity was a ruling thought if not of Herodotus, then of his time. Its frequent appearance in Herodotus is evidence in that direction. 'The crude form of it saw in each disaster an outcome of divine revenge, or of the envy of the gods

‘at human prosperity.’ God will not suffer men to exalt themselves or provoke Him by too great success. In Herodotus, the Solon of popular tradition ‘speaks of God as the ‘author of confusion and as full of envy.’ The relentless envy with which the deity pursued Polycrates and rejected the ring of great price which that too prosperous prince threw into the sea in the hope of appeasing by the sacrifice the jealousy of heaven, is the best illustration, even in Herodotus, of the doctrine of the malignity of the deity.

That doctrine is obviously a piece of folklore. It is a popular rough and ready explanation of certain striking facts of human life which cry aloud for explanation. It is based, not on a methodical study and on an organised comparison of a wide range of related facts, but on the nearest and most obvious analogies; and it owes its popularity, as all folklore does, to the fact that the analogies to which it appeals are familiar and intelligible, with the minimum of intellectual exertion, to all minds, however little educated. All men, Aristotle says, have a natural desire for knowledge; but most men, we may add, are not inclined to take more trouble than is absolutely necessary to appease that desire—the first analogy that occurs, the solution that requires the least effort to comprehend, is good enough for them. But the most obvious explanation, the one which turns up first, and which any man can hit upon, is not usually the correct or final explanation. It becomes part of the learning of the people and a piece of folklore, because it saves the trouble of further thought for the moment. Eventually, however, it is found to create more difficulties than it solves, and reveals the necessity of a deeper and more systematic study of the facts. Thus scientific explanation in the end comes to follow a process the very reverse of that adopted by popular explanations. They drew only on the facts obvious to the most superficial observer. It finds itself forced on to the consideration of facts which are only detected by prolonged study, and can usually only be properly appreciated by those who have made a special study of them. Such systematic study of Nature is Science; of Religion, Theology.

The folklore doctrine of the malignity of the deity eventually elicited from the Greek spirit a definite and valuable piece of theology, a more precise formulation of the religious ideal, and a profounder appreciation of its content and significance. It is hardly necessary to say that for this fuller manifestation of the religious ideal we must look to the great minds of Greece, the great masters in Greek literature.

Progress, whether in art, science, or religion, is due not to the many but to the few. 'The million rise to learn, the One to teach,' as Shelley says; or, as Confucius puts it, 'All men have palates; but how many can distinguish flavours?' First, however, let us consider the conditions which favoured the growth of this Greek doctrine of the malignity of the deity; in that way we shall see how from the beginning the conception carried within it the germ of its own negation, and by its own evolution led to an idea which not only comprehended in its higher unity such truth as was contained both in the doctrine and in the antithesis of the doctrine, but transcended the ideal of religion as first manifested in Greek literature in the words of Homer: 'A god, if he will, can save even from afar.'

Lower religions have their evil spirits, higher religions their devil; but it is a remarkable fact (not, we believe, noticed by Professor Campbell) that Greek religion knew neither. There is nothing in it to correspond to the terrible powers of evil against whose onslaughts so many of the Babylonian 'hymns' are directed. There are few traces even in the superstitious practices of the Greeks of that abject terror of supernatural foes which is characteristic of the savage state of culture—so few indeed that it might almost be regarded as an open question whether they had ever experienced it. If they had, they had long outgrown it even in Homer's time. The conflict which, according to the wisdom of the Egyptians, was waged on almost equal terms between the powers of good and the powers of darkness, was for the Greek mind a struggle that had long been ended in favour of the national gods: Typhoeus, Typhon, the serpent Python, and the Titans were things of the past. They were as the dragons and giants and monsters of fairy tales; they were not practical forces, determining the conduct of daily life, either in religious or superstitious belief. Morino was confined to the nursery.

It is striking testimony to the eminently rational and practical character of the Greek mind that, in dealing with the Unseen, the Greeks took it for granted that all the supernatural powers had a friendly side to their character, in virtue of which it was possible for man, if he set about it in a sensible manner, to establish friendly relations and live on satisfactory terms with all of them. From the beginning, and throughout, the Greek acted on the principle that to win goodwill you must show goodwill. He persisted in treating powers that had a distinctly evil reputation with

a perfectly confident belief that their intentions were really and ultimately good. The spirits of the streams and the sea which, under the treatment they received from other peoples, became pixies and water witches, revealed themselves to the Greek—because he was worthy of the revelation—as Oceanides, Naiads, Nereids, Nymphs. Even the Erinyes, dread powers of the Curse, yielded to his invincible friendliness, his persistent urbanity, and admitted in the end that he was in the right, their intentions had been kindly all along; they were, in fact, Eumenides, and only by misconception Furies. ‘They were no longer merely blind and passionate avengers, but the executors of divine justice, the guardians of domestic sanctity, bringing to those who worshipped them in spirit and in truth a blessing and not a curse’ (p. 245).

Thus the Greek in the practice of his religion, in his actual dealings with the supernatural, made a considerable, though unconscious, advance upon the simple Homeric faith that a god, if he will, has the power to save. It is by action as well as in reflexion that the ideal, which directs the conduct of a man or a nation, becomes increasingly more and more manifest. In the first stage of reflexion, the ideal swims into the ken, as a peak of Darien appeared to Cortes’s men as a, perhaps wild, surmise. The formula in which faith in the ideal first expresses itself in words may take the form of a hypothetical rather than a categorical statement. But in the stress of action, the cautious reserve of hypothetical statements or of a mere surmise cannot maintain itself. Acting on an hypothesis is giving a very substantial guarantee of your belief that it is something more than a mere hypothesis. The Greek showed by his action that he regarded the friendliness and trustworthiness of the Unseen as not merely hypothetical. But theory, as is usual, lagged behind practice; the first hypothetical statement of the Greek’s faith was not converted into categorical and dogmatic form until it had been acted on for generations and for centuries. This further manifestation of the religious ideal, the conviction of the benevolence, or, if we may coin the word, the omnibenevolence of the Unseen, had to grow up slowly and silently in men’s hearts, before it could be formulated explicitly in words, or be recognised as the principle on which they had really been acting all the time. It might, indeed, never have secured formal recognition from the Greek mind had it not, while yet nothing more than a silent implicit conviction, come into

collision with a conclusion deduced from the same early article of faith as itself.

The Greek, as we have seen, banished evil spirits from the domain of practical religion : he declined to recognise them as factors, either in the physical world or in his spiritual life. The logical result—and the Greek, being eminently logical, eventually reached it—was to leave the gods and man to divide between them the responsibility for everything that happens in the world. The steps by which this conclusion was reached are interesting. Savages, and some civilised men, find in demons a simple and satisfactory cause of all man's woes ; there is practical unanimity among them in ascribing disease and death to the action of evil spirits. From this explanation the Greek had cut himself off by ruling evil spirits out, and acting on the principle that all the Unseen powers are good—are gods. The gods had, therefore, to take over the functions which, in other religions, are discharged by evil spirits : Apollo and Artemis sent death and disease on men and on women. They were none the less popular deities, none the less beloved. But every great calamity also had to be ascribed to the gods, for as to their omnipotence there was no doubt : a god has power to save, and to destroy. As to their benevolence, in a general way, there was no doubt either. But their occasional malignity, due to jealousy, was an explanation of undeserved calamity, so obvious, so easily apprehended, and so compatible with a full recognition of their usual benevolence, that it satisfied the mind without offending, as yet, the religious consciousness of the people.

It so happened, however, that by the time the doctrine of malignity took shape, the conviction that the goodness of God is never failing had gathered sufficient strength in religious minds to make the theory of occasional malignity untenable. Already, even in the popular religion of Herodotus's time, the very facts which were supposed to support the theory of malignity were seen, on further reflexion, to tell against it. The envy, *Phthonos*, of the gods was seen to be really *Nemesis*, or retribution. The fate of Cræsus, on whom a great *Nemesis* came, 'because he thought himself the happiest of men,' was seen to point, not to the danger of prosperity, but to the sinfulness of pride. It is seemly for a man 'to walk humbly with his God.' This aspect of the religious ideal was revealed still more clearly to Æschylus. Xerxes, whose overthrow was ascribed by the popular traditions preserved in Herodotus to the action of a

spiteful god, was seen by Æschylus to have brought his fate upon himself because he trusted in his own might. In Sophocles the religious ideal, 'the divine union of omnipotence and benevolence,' the conviction that the gods have always the will, as well as the power, to offer salvation, takes still clearer shape and a yet richer content. The theory of Nemesis accounted for the sufferings of the proud and the impious, but not for the sufferings of the innocent. To reconcile those sufferings with the now strong faith in the divine benevolence called for profounder reflexion, and resulted, in Sophocles, in 'an approach to the doctrine which the Hebrews learned in their captivity, of the blessedness of sorrow. (Edipus is ruined in this world, but having suffered here for his unconscious crimes, he is accepted of the gods, and after his death becomes a spiritual power' (p.281). Thus it became possible, in the end, for Plato to lay it down as a definite theological dogma that whatever sufferings the gods may send on man are expressions of the divine benevolence acting for the good of man. In this dogma Plato was but formulating the faith in which Socrates met his death, and that conviction of the essential friendliness of the Unseen, which had rightly or wrongly—animated, even from pre-historic times, the whole Hellenic race in its dealings with the supernatural.

We have sketched roughly the developement in Greek literature of one aspect of the religious ideal. It was a process of evolution in the sense that it was a developement of the potential into the actual, of the implicit into the explicit, of faith into dogma, of conditional belief ('if the gods are benevolent') into conviction ('the divine benevolence never fails'). But there are many other aspects of the religious ideal presented in Greek literature. One is the impossibility exemplified in the transition from the idea of divine envy to the ideal of divine justice, Nemesis—of separating religion from morality. Here, too, the evolution of Greek religion consisted in the developement of a tendency present in it from the beginning, and not in the accretion of elements foreign to it. It is a common but, we must maintain, an ill-sustained assumption in the science of religion, that religion and morality have different sources, start by running in different streams, and meet to flow in the same channel, either late or it may be never. As regards savages, the fact is that initiation ceremonies are commonly the occasion for instructing the neophyte in the principles of right behaviour, and that the tribal god is

the guardian of the tribal morality. As regards the Greeks, the connexion between morality and religion exists in the earliest age of Greek literature, and in each succeeding stage becomes the subject of more profound and intimate conviction. In Homer the connexion is implicit rather than explicit; a matter of feeling rather than of formulated faith. But already in the 'Iliad' 'the supreme god is 'revered by those who pray to him as supporting the *just* 'cause' (p. 72) : in the combat between Paris and Menelaus, the Achæans pray that the wrongdoer may fall, and the treachery of Pandarus was greeted as a guarantee that the gods would punish it by giving the Achæans the victory over their treacherous enemies. As for the 'Odyssey,' 'the triumph of Odysseus single-handed, with the aid of Athena, 'is the triumph of justice over lawless insolence.' What the poet of the 'Odyssey' felt and implied finds direct expression in the words of Hesiod : 'Zeus has a virgin daughter, 'Justice, revered by the Olympian gods. When any does 'her wrong, she sits by her father Zeus, and tells of it.' With further experience of life, Greek literature attains to a yet clearer conviction of the righteousness of God : Archilochus puts it thus : 'O father Zeus, thou rulest the sky, 'thou seest what is done, whether villainous or righteous, 'amongst men, thou carest for the insolence and right conduct even of the lower animals.' Herodotus felt no doubt that the bond of society, custom and the law of the State, was of divine sanction. But it is Sophocles who calls forth the religious consciousness to bear witness from its depths to the existence of the Unwritten Laws of God, which every man may read in his own heart, which are made by no man, but are revealed to all and endure from everlasting to everlasting. In later times it was said of the Greeks, 'They show the work of the law written in their hearts, 'their conscience bearing witness therewith.'

The refusal of the Greek reason to tolerate the existence of evil spirits had, as one of its results, to leave the gods and man to divide between them the responsibility for everything that happens. The popular superstition of the malignity of the deity was in effect an attempt to divide that responsibility unfairly, and to charge the gods with what was not their doing. The superstition was found, however, to be repugnant to the Greek faith in the friendliness of the Unseen ; and the conflict between the two currents of thought led to a further developement of the religious ideal, by bringing into clear consciousness the

essential justice and righteousness, as well as the benevolence, of the Unseen. There were, however, other tendencies in the general movement of the religious thought of the time which contributed to this result, and which deserve fuller attention than can be given to them here.

The adjustment of responsibility as between the gods and man, even to the extent effected by the theory of retribution or Nemesis, would have been impossible, had there not been a growing conviction that wrongdoing is an offence not only against man but against the gods, not only against morality but against the religious consciousness. The unfolding of this conviction again was a process of evolution, the rendering explicit of what was potentially present from the beginning, the realisation of a tendency which manifested itself in Homer. In the 'Iliad' we have the remorse of Helen and her bitter self-reproaches, and the conscience which makes cowards of us all in the meeting of Paris with Menelaus. The feeling of blood-guiltiness, as it goes back to times long before Homer, so it continued long after his time, finding its expiation in the forms of purification associated with the Delphian worship of Apollo. In the sixth century B.C. the sense of pollution requiring purgation was extended far beyond the particular case of blood-guiltiness. The rapid growth and wide distribution of 'mysteries,' both public and private, is testimony to the fact that the sense of sin was present, in distinct consciousness, to the Greek spirit. It is alleged that the purification was merely ceremonial, and the atonement, consequently, merely formal. If this be so—and, in the absence of evidence as to the exact nature of the experience undergone by the mystae, it is hard to know whether it is so or not—it is sufficient, and it is important, for the historian of religion to note the manifestation, in the religious consciousness of the Greeks, of a need for atonement, and the failure of the Greek spirit to discover a means of permanently satisfying that need.

That adjustment of responsibility, as between the gods and man, which was necessary for the peace of mind of a race so logical and clear-thinking as the Greeks, required the co-operation of another tendency, which was developed by some religions further than, by others not so far as, by the Greek—the tendency to believe in a future life. The punishment in the next world of wrongdoers in this was not absolutely unknown to Homer; but it is not until the sixth century that we find the doctrine of future punish-

ments and rewards clearly and definitely conceived. Even then it appears under circumstances which suggest that it was of foreign origin ; and to the end it failed to attach itself to the main current of distinctively Hellenic thought and feeling. ‘ Socrates, possessing his soul in peace, was content to leave the matter to God ; but Plato, giving substance to Pythagorean fancy through the strength of moral conviction, and identifying soul with mind, attributed to the human spirit a participation in that eternity which he held to belong to truth. Hellenic faith could go no further ’ (p. 381).

Another tendency present from the beginning, another aspect of the religious ideal which took clearer and clearer shape, though it failed to attain to a complete manifestation and a perfect revelation, was the monotheistic tendency. This shows itself, even in Homer, in two forms. There is the supremacy of Zeus, which is hardly distinguishable from destiny, ‘ for his will and the determination of fate are one.’ But in spite of the fact that he is literally the Unseen, inasmuch as he is the only one of the Homeric gods who never appears in visible form to man, the individuality of the other deities was too strongly marked to allow of their being absorbed into the existence of one personal God. There remained the other form, also present in Homer, the tendency to generalisation and abstraction in speaking of the divine. ‘ In the “Odyssey” the divine action is already often generalised ; not only are gods spoken of in the plural more frequently than in the “Iliad,” but “god” or “a god,” in the singular, often occurs where it is uncertain what individual deity is in question ’ (p. 91). This generalised use of *θεός* is even more frequent in Pindar ; and later (though Professor Campbell does not notice it) *ὁ δαίμων* is commonly used in the same way, and to express the same shade of feeling something between compromise and non-committal as to the real separate existence of all the many different deities of the traditional polytheism. In Herodotus the process goes a step further, and we find for the first time an abstract, neuter term, *τὸ θεῖον*, which is a distinct movement away from the personality of *θεός* or *ὁ δαίμων*. To say that he attaches more reality to such abstractions as *τὸ θεῖον*, or *τὸ δαιμόνιον*, than he does to the individual personal deities who figure so frequently and so pleasantly in his pages, is rather to understate the case ; with the profoundest belief in the divine, he believes that the numerous deities of polytheism are absolutely human

inventions. That Æschylus also held them to be (in his own phrase) 'one form with many names,' and believed that, no matter to whom the worshipper prays—whether to Zeus, Jehovah, or Allah—his prayers are heard, provided that he worships in spirit and in truth, is plain from the first chorus of the 'Agamemnon : '—

Zeus,—by what name so'er
He glories being addressed,
Even by that holiest name
I name the Highest and Best.
On him I cast my troublous care,
My only refuge from despair :
Weighing all else, in Him alone I find
Relief from this vain burden of the mind.' (P. 274.)

That this was the feeling of Sophocles and Euripides also could easily be shown, if space allowed of the necessary quotations. They also found in direct personal communion with the Unseen a refuge and haven of rest from the doubts and difficulties which the orthodox form of traditional religion excited and could not allay. Æschylus, however, had no desire to break away from the traditional form ; he was of the earnest conviction that the traditional beliefs and national mythology enshrined the truth, and if read aright—as he spent his life and genius in trying to read and interpret them—could be made to yield the truth. Sophocles, too, though distinctly teaching that the Unwritten Laws, the commandments of God, were above the traditions of men, recognised with serene toleration that the divine spirit spoke by the lips of a Teiresias, the representative of the orthodox form, as well as to the hearts of those whom that form could no longer satisfy. Euripides wavers between the desire to make myths instrumental to true religion, and the impulse to show, by working them out to their consequences, how fatal to religious truth they are. Plato began by open denunciations of the traditional myths and the rites of sacrifice, but his final attitude, in the 'Laws,' recognises and acquiesces in the necessity of such institutions.

In point of fact every religion, or rather every stage of religious evolution, must have its form, if it is to do its work. It is not merely that every earnest conviction cannot help finding outward expression for itself and bewraying itself in word and deed, but that most men, in order to maintain their convictions in a state of healthy efficiency, require periodic appeals to them and systematic oppor-

tunities for reaffirming them, for doing something to emphasise their affirmation. This need seems to be felt, and to be provided for, even in the lowest stages of the evolution of religion. But the faith which is thus expressed, and adequately expressed, is *ex hypothesi* faith in its least developed stage, and the form which is adequate to it will be inadequate to its later developements. In fine, any form of religion is the expression of a particular stage in the perpetually growing manifestation of the religious ideal. Polytheism, with its attendant myths and rites, was the form taken by Greek religion before the Homeric age. It remained an adequate expression of that need of the gods which all men have until the time of the Lyric poets, who instinctively appeal in their hours of most intense emotion to Zeus, or Dionysus, or Apollo. But after their time the form and the faith of Greek religion developed on independent lines; and it was precisely at the time when the ceremonial of public worship was most imposing and ritual at its highest that the most religious minds were beginning to be most conscious of the need of something which neither ritual nor mythology could supply, and the want of which was destined in the fulness of time to be fatal to both. But of this those who were in charge of the ritual knew nothing: it was a thing hidden from them.

The connecting links between the safety which a Homeric god can afford if he wills and the developed conception of 'salvation'—between the *σωτηρία* of the Greek mysteries and of Christianity do not fall within the scope of Professor Campbell's work, nor does he allude to them.

- ART. IV.—1. *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: Letters and Memoir.* 2 vols. By WILLIAM MICHAEL ROSSETTI. London: 1895.
2. *Life of William Morris.* 2 vols. By J. W. MACKAIL. London, New York, and Bombay: 1899.
3. *William Morris: his Art, Writings, and Public Life.* By AYMER VALLANCE. London: 1897.
4. *The English Pre-Raphaelite Painters.* By P. H. BATE. London: 1899.

THERE remains little to say, either in the field of literary or in that of technical criticism, that has not been already said and re-echoed concerning the aims and methods of the Pre-Raphaelites and their heirs and successors of a somewhat later day. The history of the birth of the school which was to inaugurate the renaissance period, not only of English painting but of the general pursuit and understanding, lay no less than professional, of all things beautiful in colour and form, has been traced in Mr. Bate's book both to its fountain-head and in its most recent developements, and the reproductions of the pictures of various artists, living and dead, will give those who study them a clearer conception of the characteristics of the school than volumes of letterpress. Indeed, the principal features of the movement, whose nativity involved so complete a change in the ideals of art, are in a fair way to become familiar to all. The ideals themselves—ideals of the wider scope of art, of its possible application to the common surroundings of daily life; ideals of the right of all men, so far as it lies in them, to participate in the enjoyment of the outward fairness art may impart to the general environment—are diffused not alone among artists, but likewise among artisans and handicraftsmen, and have found practical embodiment in a widely spread system of education in those 'lesser arts' which for centuries had fallen into abeyance, or become the prey of the mechanical copyist.

The names pre-eminently associated with Pre-Raphaelitism in its earliest stage to whomsoever the credit of its conception be ascribed—the names of Madox Brown, Millais, Holman Hunt, and Dante Gabriel Rossetti in the first group of innovators, have become household words to the unlearned as well as to the wise. The names of Edward Burne-Jones and William Morris, who, stimulated by the same influence, incorporated and refashioned, each after his own manner,

the tendencies both expanded and developed—making the goal of the forerunner the starting-point of the disciple—are names even more intimately associated by the present generation with a fashion in decorative art of which the popularity, whether it prove permanent or transitory, is uncontested.*

Nor is it the history alone of Pre-Raphaelitism which has been popularised. With the facts many and various have been the theories and formulas propounded to account for its origin and to epitomise its elementary and essential principles.

‘Des hommes nouveaux,’ writes M. de la Sizeranne in his analysis of the methods of the school,† ‘voulant un art nouveau, substituant le geste curieux, inédit, individuel, au geste banal et généralisateur, et la couleur franche, à sec, sans dessous, brillante par ses juxtapositions à la couleur fondue, renforcée par les superpositions, en un mot la ligne expressive au lieu de la ligne décorative, et le ton vif au lieu du ton chaud, voilà en toute simplicité ce que fut le préraphaélisme.’

‘Their art,’ says Muther,‡ defining the sentiment, ‘is a kind of Italian Renaissance upon English soil. The romantic chord which vibrates in English poetry is united to the grace and purity of Italian taste, the classical lucidity of the pagan mythology with catholic mysticism, and the most modern riot of emotion with the demure vesture of the primitive Florentines.’

But these and all other attempts to summarise, to reduce to dogma, or to evolve a theory from ideals whose base and foundation was the recognition of absolute freedom of individual effort from all conventions of systems and from all rigid rule of authoritative precept, are obviously destined not only to fail, but to mislead, and in most cases prove not only inadequate, but untrue. The maxims inculcated in the first glow of revolutionary enthusiasm upon students yet untrained, the ‘visionary vanities of half a dozen boys,’ to quote Rossetti’s own later verdict have been continually cited as the decalogue regulating the skilled and experienced hand of the fully developed artist; while, on the other hand, types created by the genius and individual invention of one have been accepted as representing and bounding the ideals of the whole fellowship. As a matter of fact, when all has been analysed and specified, when the æsthetic theology has been fully determined, it may still be questioned

* See *Edinburgh Review*, January 1897, ‘William Morris, Poet and Craftsman.’

† *La Peinture Anglaise*. Paris. 1895.

‡ *History of Modern Painting*, by R. Muther, vol. iii.

if the world is much the wiser for the critic's labour. Creeds, æsthetic or other, howsoever carefully defined, do not for the most part contain religions, nor is an atmosphere of imagination and emotion lightly to be expressed in an article of belief. So far as the first apostles of the English Renaissance are concerned, the doctrine most obviously illustrated by their works is the doctrine of developement, and, starting from Rossetti's youthful avowal of his 'uncompromising adherence to nature,' we may review at pleasure the kaleidoscopic changes in the phases of an art-reformation culminating in the beautiful phantasms of life presented to us by Edward Burne-Jones.

Such impressions of the futility of critical classification are more especially evoked when the publication of the personal biographies of artists supplements the records of their work, and places each artist before us in the full light of his accentuated individuality. Moreover, such biographies challenge a revision of those impersonal judgements we have been wont to bestow upon the artist's art. For they present us with a new standard—the painter's own—where-with to measure his success or failure. They enable us to compare aims with achievements, while efforts we held as sterile are ennobled by our knowledge of the great conception underlying the abortive endeavour.

Yet that such publications are wholly a gain is a proposition open to dispute. One personality, the personality the artist has himself disclosed—voluntarily, or it may be unawares—on the walls of an exhibition or on the pages of a printed book, we already possess, nor will any deny that a partial revelation of a fractional individuality is an inherent quality of true genius. But by the side of this self-revealed personality the biographer sets a second and supplementary portrait. He draws a portrait of the intimate personality known to the friends, the associates, the fellow-workers of a lifetime, and he delineates it as it existed in the privacy of affection and relationship, as it had evolved its own thoughts, been kindled with its own enthusiasms, endured its own disillusionments, suffered its own emotions. He portrays it as it evinced in daily intercourse and among common occurrences, the griefs with which it grieved, the joys by which it had been gladdened within the shut doors and curtained windows of its own separate and—for when all is shown that may be manifest, all said that may be spoken, so it still remains—impenetrable selfhood.

Such posthumous editings of personalities where the in-

terest of the biography lies—as with most artists—not in facts and actions, but in the record of those subjective phases of being for which no collective epithet suffices, may seem to some of us a doubtful homage. The dead have already given to us of their best; moreover a part of their special genius lay in their choice of what they gave and of what they withheld. If one fraction of the gifts of the gods to the elect has been the power of expression, the other has been as certainly the faculty of reticence. It has been an element of their inspiration to suppress, so far as their art was concerned, those inferior qualities which, although they form an integral section of the human paradox, tend in their manifestation to confuse that particular aspect of life, of passion, of beauty, truth, or thought, it has been the primary aim of the individual poet or painter to embody in his art, which it has been his secondary aim to imprint upon the minds, sympathies, or imagination of that outer multitude with whom the artist neither has nor desires to have any further, closer, or more personal bond. Thus it is that painters and poets with illuminated instinct have, at their own and no other man's pleasure, lifted or drawn close the veil over those heterogeneous endowments of temperament that constitute their inner individuality. They have regarded art, not as a confessional, but—however various may be the god of its dedication—as a shrine.

Upon their biographers rests likewise the obligation of selection, but it is of selection with a difference. While the choice, the giving or withholding of the artist is wholly based upon his relationship to his art, the choice of his biographer admits of other considerations, and is in a great measure determined by his desire to portray a personality in its fuller relationship to life at large. And in the accomplishment of his purpose he is weighted by a dual responsibility to observe both the loyalty of reticence he owes to his subject and the sincerity of disclosure he owes to his readers. In the performance of the task it is not perhaps too much to say that the biographer who fulfils either obligation completely is usually a defaulter with regard to the other.

Yet howsoever we may deprecate it theoretically, a curious or sympathetic public insistently demands to know more of the personality of an artist, and of those circumstances and surroundings that colour and mould it, than he has himself revealed by the medium of books written,

pictures painted, or opinions pronounced. And custom, in response to the demand, has created its own convention of compliance on the part of those to whom memories of the dead are the heritage of kinship or affection.

In the *Memoirs of Dante Gabriel Rossetti and William Morris*—the one written by Rossetti's surviving brother, the other mainly compiled from the reminiscences and by the request of Morris's most intimate friend—readers may find whatsoever it may be theirs to learn of the lives and thoughts of the two great artists whose names, inseverably linked with that of Edward Burne-Jones, have been most closely, and despite all disparities of aim and attainment, associated one with another in popular estimation and to a large extent in general criticism. The lives of the three cover possibly the most momentous period of English art—from the growth of that brotherhood, of which Millais and Holman Hunt were foremost members when Rossetti, aged 21, exhibited 'The Girlhood of Mary Virgin' in 1849, down to the summer of 1898, when the death of Edward Burne-Jones, followed by the winter exhibition at the New Gallery of his collected works, closed the chronicle of an accomplished revolution in the ideals and criticism of English painting. And thus for the space of some fifty years the biographies of Rossetti and Morris present a picture of the leading figures whose influence effected that revolution, set each in its own framework. They are the record of the human atmosphere of sentiment, affection, opinion, and habit, which gives to personality, if not its form, at least its bent; of the surroundings, social, material, and immaterial, which act as the ferment to bare initial principles and theories of art, and which leaven those ideas that each man may assimilate but no man can create, with individualisations of character, of circumstance, of time, and of locality.

For the idea, 'the rendering of absolutely poetic motives 'by naturalistic methods,' that inspired Rossetti: the ideal of beauty that illuminated Burne-Jones's imagination and kindled in the mind of William Morris a torch from which many a lesser man's hearth has caught some quiet household flame—some gleam of the beauty art may bestow upon handicraft—although not born with their birth nor dying with their death, was essentially individual, with their individuality, in manifestation. Rossetti's art was the climax of personality in painting and poetry. Burne-Jones's has been repeatedly defined as the art of one man—the art of its

originator. In Morris the social instinct in its relationship to decoration produced, as its result, an accentuated phase of individual invention in the conception of mediæval tradition allied with modern productive energy.

That the principles which generated the Pre-Raphaelite movement at large 'were neither Post- nor Pre-Raphaelite, 'but eternal,' is undeniable, and kindred ideas had, no doubt, found various embodiments at various stages of the world's history. But while the pre-existent idea retains its elemental character, its revived expression necessarily differs. Lying dormant perhaps for centuries, when it draws to itself a new group of exponents, or it may be only one vigorous spirit to serve as its interpreter and apostle; when it germinates with a fresh impulse upon the earth, it must inevitably undergo modifications governed by new conditions. The manner of its exposition may indeed to a greater or less degree resemble the manner after which previous exponents gave it form and shape; Rossetti may reproduce some aspects of the art of the primitives; in Botticelli or Mantegna Burne-Jones may have found the antitype of manhood or womanhood corresponding to the type of ideal beauty which possessed his own imagination. The designs of William Morris may recall Gothic designs of past ages; but each and all retain, to a degree no one who has studied their more mature works can question, the stamp and imprint of their time and of their idiosyncrasies. The mere copyist, who sees the surface and traces the lines and repeats the colours, may at all times and in all places, doubtless, produce, if skill of hand and accuracy of eye be his, a dead facsimile of the past. But the very perfection of the facsimile removes his work by a gulf no man may span from the work of the artist in whom the vital idea, reviving from its sleep of centuries, has taken up its dwelling. Reanimated within him, it becomes by reason of its vitality part of his vitality, of his personality, a fraction of his individual life, swayed by the influences that propel his imagination, coloured by the divided prism-lights of the temperament peculiar to himself. And thus, notwithstanding and in despite of elementary identities, it moves and impels him to create new forms of embodiment, which, if born of the same spiritual seed, are yet as diverse as the children of a new generation from the children of an old. For vitality, by law inflexible, effects diversity. The dead machine retraces, but the living spirit evolves, and the revived expression in art of a pre-existent concep-

tion, if it be living, is necessarily recast, refashioned, and recoloured. As Rossetti himself wrote, 'work, to be truly 'worthy, should be wrought out of the age itself, as well as 'out of the soul of its producers, which must needs be a 'soul of the age.'

And in that 'soul of the age' new associations have grown up with the lapse of centuries. Traditions have added chapter to chapter. We neither see, hear, nor understand as dead generations saw, heard, and comprehended. The ear, the eye, the imagination, have undergone changes innumerable, defying analysis. The hearer, accustomed to detect harmonies in discord, to whom the innovations of modern dissonances and the sensuous melodies of a Wagner have become an accustomed tale, can no longer listen to the austere purity, the transparent simplicities of a Palestrina mass or a Haydn trio, as did his forebears. Eyes trained in the later schools, classic or romantic, naturalist or impressionist, can no longer view the works of the great primitive painters of simple faith with the eyes of lost ages. 'Il faut que l'art nous dépayse,' is a maxim excellent in the abstract. But conditions of life persist, and theories become synonymous with the impracticable. Could we displace ourselves in time, dispossess ourselves of race, dislocalise ourselves in the minor matter of nationality, it would indeed conduce to a perfect and catholic sympathy with what remote times, distant nations, and other races have performed in the arena of art. But, try as we may, the effort merely amounts to a transference of our own imagination. Wheresoever our fantasy takes us we carry with us all our inheritance of years, all our associations of nationality, all our atmosphere of race. We may endeavour to ignore the interim of time that walls us out from the past as we conjure up the vision of bygone centuries, but we regard that vision, strive as we may, from the standpoint of to-day. For we ourselves *are* the present; wherever we transplant ourselves it goes with us, and a Burne-Jones can never become, according to his vain aspiration, an Italian, nor a William Morris a mediævalist of the thirteenth century. Nor perhaps is art ever more perceptibly infected with the spirit of these—its latest—days than when with futile effort its aim is to evade their grasp.

And as it is with their art, so was it with the lives of the three artists. Their works bear the toothmark of their own age in its fever or lassitude, its introspection and its motiveless melancholy, and they themselves were

emphatically men of to-day. Their homes were for the most part under the low skies of great cities; their minds were minds stimulated and cultured by the dense pressure of the intellectual life that surged around. Burne-Jones and Morris, both at the critical turning-point of their development, underwent the stimulus of Oxford companionships. Rossetti found in his own family the spur of keen and educated criticism, while, in years to come, the roll-call of their closest friends and companions embraced the foremost names in literature and art. And as denizens of that inner world that each man makes for himself within the compass of the world which surrounds him, they were stirred—whether to the recoil of the reactionist or the agreement of the participant matters little—by the vast waves of human thought and human feeling that vibrated around them, by the emanation of the multitudinous lives by which their lives were enclosed.

Outside the studios where Rossetti and Burne-Jones, in passive retreat from contact with the busy forces of modern existence, invoked image after image of mediæval tradition—dreams of dead gods, visions of fair women, where, by whatever name they named her, ‘*la femme est toujours l’Hélène d’autrefois*’—the intricate network of London spread far and wide. They trod daily its crowded pavements, where, with an unsurpassed accentuation, luxury and wealth, penury and hardship, the Dives and the Lazarus of the street are confronted, suggesting problems no man may solve and summoning as with a trumpet call their wide-hearted fellow-artist to enrol himself in the ranks of Socialism. Beyond their doors every stratum of humanity might be found exhibiting each its special features; hunger and remedyless want, with all the nameless maladies of a rank and overgrown civilisation written in indelible signatures upon face after face, haunt the threshold of the London dweller. Nightmares of women and children and vagrant menace or appeal to him in the gas-glare of thronged crossings, or in the scantily peopled highways in ‘London’s smokeless resurrection light,’ printing themselves vaguely on the memory to revive in dim sensations or unformulated thoughts. So day by day in Bloomsbury, in Kensington, in Chelsea, the complicated artificialities of city life encircled Rossetti, Burne-Jones, and Morris, shutting them out, with mental barriers all city dwellers recognise, from contact with simpler conditions of existence; estranging them, as city life estranges, from the hourly

influences of nature's elemental powers, from the contagious moods of earth's multiform vitalities, from the companionship of its children, from the intimacy of its woods, from the solitude of its expanses of plain and sea, from the sound of its innumerable voices, from the indefinite emotion—the communion of its infinitely varied silences.

And while in the outer semblances of an art determinatively ideal and imaginative, the actualities of the material world which lay around the house in Cheyne Walk or outside the garden walls of the Grange in North End Road, found no place; while the dominatively subjective tendency of their art intensified and concentrated its individuality, the emotional expression, the sentiment, spiritual or—in its widest significance—sensual, which both Rossetti and Burne-Jones stamped upon their creations, was no less the offspring of the influences around them than was the sterile dream of a social redemption with art for its Christ that cast its ennobling radiance over Morris's later years.

The lives of Rossetti and William Morris are compiled upon a widely differing scheme. As a personal narrative the record of Dante Gabriel Rossetti stands alone, even among modern memoirs, in its detail of intimate and private episode. In the life of William Morris it has been the intention of his biographer to do little more than supply an outline statement concerning all matters of domestic incident, and he has rarely abdicated the privilege of reticence which, in dealing with the lives of those who so recently dwelt in our midst, assumes the nature of an obligation never, perhaps, repudiated without loss. That a man is born, attains maturity, is married, has children, faces in hours of bereavement and sickness the inevitable end, are initial facts implying assuredly, if not inclusively, that a life has to a certain degree, and according to its individual capacity, been a completed experience of some of the stronger and deeper natural affections and emotions. The mere register of such circumstances and events indicates, so far as parallel lines of universal experiences can give intelligence to one man of what another suffers or enjoys, that a life has passed through certain general but acute stages of common hopes, and fears, and griefs; that a man has undergone certain demands on his moral being, which, howsoever impermanent in actual duration, are indelible in their aggregate effect upon the imaginative and emotional faculties. Such facts are recognised by all to be as light and darkness to the earth, making day or night, shadow or sunshine, in that

strict enclosure of personality where no stranger enters without sacrilege, where affection dominates ambition, and even the most vital aims of years are suspended, it may be annulled, beside the upspringing or the extinction of some small human flame of private love, or hope, or joy; something which in respect of the world's life is as nothing; something which in respect of the man's life is all in all.

Such inferences are, in the main, all that the memoir of William Morris invites. Upon the brother of Dante Rossetti another obligation rested. The unworthy betrayals of friendship, the mournful conditions of a life which vulgar curiosity had dragged into prominence, the ungenerous judgements of men who forget that

‘Who knows but partly can but judge in part,’

demanded, in his opinion, a fuller and more personal exposition, and have entailed upon criticism a correlatively closer attention to the more intimate aspects of the facts he has supplied.

So far as events are concerned, the lives of Rossetti and Morris, as well as that of Morris's co-disciple Burne-Jones, were exceptionally bare of incident. Each of the three great artists, whose especial gift it was to resuscitate tradition, belonged by birth to the class—embracing the lesser professional and the upper commercial—where the sense of tradition is at its lowest, effaced by the necessities of bread-winning, and by that enhanced appreciation of the value of money as the arbiter of human destiny induced by the daily labour of earning it.

Italian by race, Rossetti was born in London in 1828. Five years later Edward Burne-Jones, Welsh by origin, was born in Birmingham; William Morris, a year after, at Walthamstow. Morris alone of the three—the fact should not be forgotten—passed a childhood in touch with the earth he knew and loved so well. At the age when Rossetti, ‘who meant to be a painter,’ drew his knowledge of beast, and plant, and tree from the railinged vegetation of Regent's Park, and the caged menagerie of the Zoological Gardens, studied architecture in the Ionic and Corinthian pilasters of St. John's Wood, attended classes in Portland Place and King's College, books, with an occasional circus performance or theatre-going, his main amusement; at the age when little Burne-Jones, reared in the squalid ugliness of a manufacturing town, immersed himself in classic literature among keen-witted classmates at King Edward's School;

Morris was 'riding half Essex over in search of old churches,' botanising, shooting, fishing, growing up in free open-air companionship with bird, and beast, and flower, retracing in the play-time of Marlborough days the life of dead centuries in Roman remains and mediæval buildings. And the healthful memories of nature's freshest sensations, memories for whose absence no aftermath of life, however rich, can compensate, abode with him to the end. His nature-love was no love of the town-born denizen to whom plain, field, and river, however dear as the Eden of his desires, still bear an alien aspect, but of the country-bred, to whom in farthest exile they remain the homeland of his nativity. Nor is it difficult to trace in Morris's treatment of floral arabesque the under-influence of that lifelong and innate knowledge of the heart concerning flower, and leaf, and stem, which gives an indefinable attraction to his designs even perceptible to those whose technical appreciation of their excellence of form is inadequate. They were the work of a man who in a whole garden of blossoms could distinguish each separate flower-face. 'The garden is nearly over now . . . except that there are a good many roses, and amongst them a pale sweet-briar blossom among the scarlet hips, *that I am sure I never saw before*' is a sentence Rossetti could never have written, and betrays a familiarity, a personality of knowledge which the exquisite fragility of Burne-Jones's harebells, the etherialisation of his columbines, lacks.

But howsoever severed in boyhood by disparities of external circumstance, in the next stage of manhood those converging tendencies that overrule outward conditions and human intention narrowed towards their meeting-point. Ten years before the year (1852) when Morris and Burne-Jones matriculated on the same day at Exeter College, Rossetti, Morris's senior by six years, Burne-Jones's by five, had entered upon the formal study of art. By 1848 he had passed from Carey's drawing school and the study of the antique at the Royal Academy to become a pupil of Madox Brown, and found in Millais and Mr. Holman Hunt, both then exhibiting painters, those congenial spirits from whose union sprang the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. In 1849 'Mary Virgin' had been publicly applauded, and in 1850 'Ecce Ancilla Domini' had, with other works of the Brotherhood, excited a storm of adverse criticism. And henceforth on Rossetti fell the lot of a leader among revolutionists, while, both destined for Holy Orders, William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones were inaugurating their lifelong friendship, each

finding in the other not only kindred literary enthusiasms, but likewise that firmer cement of friendship, the 'complemental' spirit of those sharply contrasting qualities native to each and accentuated in both by the divergent influences of childhood and boyhood.

Some years, however, were still to elapse before the two undergraduates were drawn within the circle of Rossetti's personal influence. Through his works, nevertheless, he had become one of the heroes of their Oxford enthusiasms. 'I was two-and-twenty, and had never met, or ever seen, a painter in my life,' Burne-Jones wrote in after years; 'I knew no one who had ever seen one, or had been in a studio, and of all men who lived on earth, the one I wanted to see was Rossetti.' In 1855 they met. Henceforth in the history of aesthetics the names of Burne-Jones and Morris are abidingly associated with that of their first master. But while the fellowship in art and in the aims of art involved, as such fellowships are apt to do, a fellowship in life, no three lives could present more obvious contrasts of personality, and as artists there were consequent and perceptible severances. In Rossetti and in Burne-Jones, the one expressing himself in poetry and painting, the other in painting alone, we are conscious throughout that their expression in art is related solely and emphatically to their ideal in art: it is art related to art. In Morris the human, and more than the human, the social, instinct is superadded, and his art assumes another relationship and becomes an art related to man. Thus, while Rossetti and Burne-Jones created, each after his own mould, the ideal of a school, Morris, acting upon an equally spontaneous impulse, infected the world with a principle, sowing the seeds of new tastes broadcast, generating wants and desires among men at large for things fair in semblance and honest in workmanship. Nor, setting the poetry of Morris beside that of Rossetti, is the same distinction lacking. Morris is above all things the teller of a tale, the communicator of that which he knows to those who know it not; his audience is ever present. With Rossetti we scarcely ever lose the impression that his poems embody some strong bias of individual sentiment, some strong vibration of personal emotion, that even in the ballad of a Rose-Mary or a Sister Helen we may read, if not an autobiography of facts, at least in fragmentary sentences an autobiography of sensations. If, indeed, it may be truly said of Burne-Jones that his pictures are the incarnation of

imagination at its emotional climax, it may with equal justice be said of Rossetti that his works embody the very climax of personality, and that where the one painter presents us with a personality possessed by an imagination, the other reverses the order of ascendancy, and confronts us as a type of an imagination possessed by a personality. Yet, thus differentiated, their genius has one point of absolute union, as the study of the reproductions in Mr. Bate's book may clearly demonstrate. Based in each case upon the fusion of individual temperament with the themes of imaginative invention, it created an outward form and semblance of beauty of which all imitations, however close, only serve to make manifest the inaccessible and incommunicable spiritual quality.

In Rossetti's art the personality revealed was one eminently calculated to excite curiosity. The story of the gradual developement of his ideal types has been interpreted by his friend Mr. Watts Dunton. Starting from the doctrine of realism—a term in Pre-Raphaelite phraseology to be dissociated from its recent limitations—Rossetti attempted to retain the mysticism of the past divested of its integral element—austerity—until, 'in a change of methods in the painting of flesh, in order to give it a mysticism it can never perhaps sustain without asceticism,' he invested the material body itself with symbolic meaning, sensuousness struggled more faintly with spirituality, and the eyes—the passion of the soul divine—contradicted, unforbidden by the genius which emphasised both, the passion of the body, whose hieroglyphic was the mouth. If in his painting we may trace such phases of individual thought, Rossetti's personality is even more legible in his poems. 'There is not one merely literary love sonnet in his book,' is the explicit testimony of his friend. Nor are those other sonnets not of love, but of foregone opportunities,

' When work and will awake too late, to gaze
After their life sailed by,'

of missed paths, of springs made barren, of fair deeds superseded by ill, of lost days and life's remorse, and of that ghost whose 'name is might-have-been,' less fraught and burdened with personal emotions, with sentiments felt not imagined, regrets not invented but suffered, repentances upspringing—to use Rossetti's own distinction, from not 'the mind's conscience but the heart's.'

And to the abstract form presented in his works by the artist-poet the biographer gives a concrete framework. Beside the personality set forth in the love-worship of poems and the love-glory of paintings, where womanhood in relation to passion, or as passion's embodiment, alternates with themes based upon the falls and aspirations of the soul, the narrative sets the personality manifest in the deeds and omissions of a life with the commentary facts are wont to supply to ideals.

Eleven years cover the story of Rossetti's love for the woman by whom his love poems were, for the most part, inspired, from his first acquaintance in 1850 to her death—his two years' wife—in 1862. Ten years of affection chequered by periods of acute anxiety, when the shadow of the 'veiled woman' menaced the life he held dear, preceded the marriage announced to his mother in a sentence full of significance: 'Like all the important things I ever meant to do, to fulfil duty or secure happiness, this one has been deferred almost beyond possibility.' In the remorseful haste of those spring days, when at length his love forestalled death's nearing feet, we may decipher an element of early character affording a key to much that is lacking in the emotional atmosphere of his work, where intensity without strength, sentiment without action, dominate the passive monotone of passion; where the one accent too much is apparent of that perilous feminine quality without which, if no man's genius is perfected, the genius of many a man is irreparably marred. Rossetti has expressed, as perhaps no other of his time, the religion of love; for the love of the body and the love of the soul are with him the fellow-conspirators of ideal passion, and 'Not soul helps flesh more than flesh helps soul,' might serve for the formula of his creed. But linking together his pre-marriage letters with the sonnets, we are conscious of a certain indefinable coldness, the coldness of a temperament which has for the moment fused in one life and art, and in the fusion forfeited the singleness of feeling essential to strength. In the very excellence of versification we miss the incompleteness of language which suggests the incompetence of art to express the emotion transcending art. It is, indeed, possible that the perfection of passion can never be rendered by the perfection of art; but with Rossetti, more than with others, the balance and symmetry of beauty detract from its human force. The poet-painter is ever present to take cognisance of the

emotions of the man. He is ever conscious in the loveliness of the woman he loves, of the possible ideality of the model he paints. And we, the bystanders, as we turn from the personality of his art to the personality of his life, cannot banish the assurance that the artist has a use for his affections, and that his worship is tinged with utilitarianism. We may concede that in some rare instances the rapture of the painter may enhance the ecstasies of the lover, but there are more instances when, to the apprehension of the spectator, it discounts them; more instances in which between the manhood and womanhood of lover and lady two shadowy figures intervene—the figures of the artist and the ideal.

Nor is the impression altogether dispelled by the record of later years. The close ties of marriage and of fatherhood, with the duties regarded or disregarded they entail, fell from him. His child was born dead, and the loss was followed, in the spring of 1862, by his wife's death, a shock painful in those details and circumstances which go far, in the first hours, to embitter almost beyond bearing the simplicity of a great sorrow. The ensuing episode, the deed of renunciation of his ambitions as poet with the burial of his manuscripts in her grave, and the deed of their subsequent exhumation, has been, however unpardonable, perhaps over rashly judged by adversaries who, if incapable of that second act, the violation of death's sanctuary, were also, it may be, incapable of the penitent atonement of the first. 'I have been often writing at those poems while 'Lizzie was ill and suffering,' was the brief phrase of his self-accusation. To sacrifice them was the impulse of a man to whom such remorse of the affections were a moral torture. Some men may bear like self-reproaches with a reasonable fortitude others have no aptitude to emulate; to them the lash of the irrevocable is incomprehensible. But Rossetti obeyed the dictation of that instinct which, in the presence of the dead, reconstructs a man's appreciation of the relative values of fame and affection, and sought by one sacrifice to expiate what might never be retrieved. Seven years after the instinct followed by the man suffered defeat at the hands of that counter-instinct—the instinct of the artist. The offering enshrined in the dead woman's grave was withdrawn and bestowed upon the world.

So throughout the Rossetti of the *Memoirs* stands before us, a man of ideals without the capacity to translate them into life's relationships or life's actions. In respect of that

sharp, albeit not always infallible, touchstone of character, the dealings of a man with men, he laid himself equally open to contrary charges. At one moment a spend-thrift in generosity, selling his bride's wedding jewels to relieve the poverty of some 'fellow-artist's household, at another moment he wrought as a wary bargainer. Painting undeniably for art's sake alone, he was yet resolute that the valuation of his own, and his fellows', works should be appraised at a just worth. Giving with one hand, he borrowed with the other, forging too often with his own deeds shafts that every enemy might cast for his undoing. Cancelling good with evil, and evil with good, as he went on the road of life, he swayed men's enthusiasms by the gift of brilliant attraction, while, by the counter-gift of fate, he created from among the associates who surrounded him with homage, those estranged friends whom he happily characterised as 'my intimate enemies.' 'A woman may 'have some little mercy for the man she has ceased to love, 'but she has none for the memory of what he has been to 'her,' Rossetti once wrote, but within his own experience the sentence might have admitted of a less restricted application. That he should have forfeited many friendships is not a surprise. It was in the nature of things human, apart from special circumstances and events, that intimacies, based not on affinities or sympathies of enduring personality, but on the insecure foundation of early enthusiasms and common aims, should in process of time decline. But it is surely a matter of regret that in relating the incident of the dissolution of partnership, when, in 1875, Rossetti's connexion with the firm of Morris & Co. terminated, Morris's recent biographer should have disinterred from oblivion an episode somewhat differently reported by Mr. William Rossetti.

Rossetti had come to Morris as the master-exponent of truth to art, and truth to beauty. Morris had rendered him the unmeasured veneration of a disciple. Doubtless there may be a questionable wisdom in the dispensation which relegates the most vigorous faculties for worship to that stage of a man's development when the capacity of choosing aright the object of worship is least ripe—a stage when the intuitions of childhood are obscured and the experiences of maturity yet to come. Moreover,

' When I find worth
I love the keeper, till he let it go,
And then I follow it '

is a vindication which, in the case of the disloyalties of later years, may be spoken in good faith by many who have had cause to recant their earlier faiths. For most of us, indeed, the sacramental pledge of friendship is not eternal, and endures only till life—that adversary more formidable than any death to human fidelity—do us part. Nevertheless, howsoever inevitable the loss of generous illusions, of old loves and old devotions, there still remains an alternative between idolatry and iconoclasm. It is not well to ignore how much a man owes to those lesser gods of youth we so harshly term idols. If the faculty of uncalculating faith, of selfless enthusiasm for the achievements of another, is one that breaks down more than all else the base horizons of egoism and widens the barriers of sympathy, we are indebted to whatever influence evokes, concentrates, and stimulates it. This debt Mr. Mackail has not discharged.

The concluding chapters of Rossetti's life are perhaps as mournful a record as any it has fallen to the lot of a biographer to write. A prey to that malady of maladies, insomnia, a prey to the relentless remedy which gives brief respite only to extort a redoubled suffering; haunted by threats of blindness, weakened in will and nerve by inter-linked sicknesses of heart and soul and body, Rossetti clung to those remaining affections which alone companioned him in the solitude he had created around. 'Your dear face always brightens things when I look at it,' he writes to the mother without whose love he 'could imagine no good world here or elsewhere,' and whose 'help,' with that of her sister Christina, alone 'rendered tolerable' days, weeks, months of weary inaction. Other friends there were likewise whose faithful forbearance found a new claim on their love in the patient of their affections, for 'it was impossible to know [him] without deeply loving, necessary that he should be deeply loved before he could be fully known,' wrote Mr. Watts Dunton, who with Mr. Hall Caine, Mr. William Sharp, Mr. Shields, Burne-Jones, and others, did what in them lay to minister such happiness as might be to a life already anchored in shadow, bearing the conscious burden of its own shortcomings. 'I can make nothing of Christianity,' ran Rossetti's brief confession so incomprehensible to those whose heart and brain admit no disunion, 'but I only want a confessor to give me absolution for my sins.'

The end was at hand. On Easter Day, 1882, Rossetti died, a man who with eyes that saw into great distances

walked with stumbling feet among the stones of the highway, whose trespasses were the accidents rather than the essence of his temperament, who, carrying with him what was little to the grave of the man, has left us a legacy of what was great in the ideals of the artist. 'His morality 'is all sympathy,' Pater has said of Botticelli's works. The saying may be applied both to Rossetti and to that personality which Burne-Jones, perpetuating and spiritualising one aspect of Rossetti's genius, has embodied in his paintings. And the morality that halts at sympathy is in truth incomplete. Yet it is not a small thing, as any close experience of the morality that lacks it evidences. The emotional response of pity to the appeal of things pitiful, of homage to things brave, of veneration for things pure, is not merely a painted flame. Far rather is it the illuminating assurance that at the core of a man's being lie warm human instincts ranged on the side of all that is good, reverent, and generous, instincts rusted, warped, mutilated by disuse or accident, but still alive to testify that though deeds suffer from the paralysis of will, that which lies closer to the immortal vitality—the spirit—quickens. 'I sleep, but 'my heart waketh.'

Eight years before his death the friendship, which from 1871 to 1874 had made Morris and Rossetti joint inmates of Kelmscott, had drawn to a natural and inevitable close. Nor is it possible to trace in Morris's personality any lasting effects of that long-continued intimacy. Not even in the phase of first discipleship, when 'not as a pupil, but as a servant,' he apprenticed himself, a docile votary at an idol's shrine, did Rossetti's influence—apart from art—touch anything beyond the surface nature of his devotee. Morris caught indeed, we may guess, many reflexions of the imaginative emotion of his great master. But reflexions are not dyes, and throughout the untinged undercurrent of Morris's own inveterately individual personality asserted itself. In 1859—a year before the wedding of Rossetti—Morris, marrying, like his friend Burne-Jones, in the first years of manhood, had early dispossessed himself of those rights of irresponsible freedom which have for their counterpoise accumulative loneliness, and in the period of Morris's life following upon his marriage we are told that the strain of an 'orderly 'civic element,' which Mr. Mackail describes as one of the strongest threads in Morris's nature, 'developed till he 'became what he would himself have called in later days a 'typical bourgeois.'

With unimpaired physical strength, untrammelled from boyhood upwards, so far as things material went, by any cares or anxieties concerning the to-morrows of life, the burden of all the practical and inexorable questions entailed by marriage and fatherhood rested lightly upon him; nor can he ever have experienced the depressions and discouragements which weight men of fragile frame for whom the necessities of breadwinning make the pursuit of the ideal in art not only a road of difficulty but an ascent of sacrifice. Such inequalities of fortune and health may have had much to do with the singularly different atmosphere that clings to the works of Morris and Burne-Jones. Yet, that in his exemption from the pressure of outward conditions and the evils attendant on precarious health, by which Burne-Jones's career was beset, Morris was wholly the gainer, may be doubtful. When the soil is furrowed for the sowing deficiencies of strength and fortune are apt to bring with them, and overpast to leave behind them, for the artist, a more intuitive perception of some aspects of things beautiful; for the man a more unexacting consideration, a more winning patience with the discouragements, failures, successes and defaultings of others, a special loveableness of nature, indefinable yet easy of recognition, rarely and only by special grace of God acquired under the star of a too constant and too robust prosperity.

‘Earth’s success, at the purest, with stain of the earthy
Leaves the white worth of truth, where it touches it, less,’

and such disadvantages of good fortune Morris suffered, for, in the main, so far as a life with ideals, human or divine, material or immaterial, can be so accounted, his life was that of a man of success. At his first married home, the Red House, Upton, at his later homes of Kelmscott and in London, a large share of the good things of this world fell to his lot. The companionship of devoted friends, self-chosen associates, was his. His surroundings, and to his temperament surroundings meant much, corresponded to his creed—the doctrine he held ‘more than ever at his heart the importance for people of living in beautiful places.’ In one of such places he lived: Kelmscott ‘has come to be to me,’ he writes in 1882, ‘the type of the pleasant places of the earth, and of the homes of harmless, simple people not over-burdened with the intricacies of life; and as others love the race of man through their lovers or their children, so I love the earth through

‘that small space of it.’ As a poet, fame came to him; his firm flourished; as a craftsman his achievements were unsurpassed by his contemporaries, and recognised as the standard of taste and excellence. As a social reformer he was truly foredoomed to disappointment. But the discouragement induced by his experience of the inner workings of the socialist propaganda, however keenly felt, was tempered by the continuance of his interest in manifold industries, ‘my little patterns and dyeings, and the dear warp and weft,’ and all those other occupations he had ever set generously on one side for the ‘cause,’ but which in themselves filled his days to overflowing. So far, indeed, as his life is made known to us, his joys, griefs, and troubles were those incident to all lives, not the catastrophes of the few among the many, but of the many among the few. And, moreover, foremost among the gifts of fortune, in his open-air, clear-minded, and wholesome manhood he retained that invaluable endowment of childhood, the aptitude for taking pleasure in little things.

His feminine side – for no man can remain so perfectly a child without being partaker in the better part of womanhood – found nourishment in his intense and personal love of the earth in its freshness, and cleanliness, and gladness, and of its children. Every touch betrays his intimacy with them. ‘The blackbirds wake me about 4 o’clock A.M.; as for the rooks, they never stop all day long. I saw a leash of plovers yesterday squawking away, and making believe they had no nest at hand. The garden is full of bullfinches, which are pretty, fat dears, and sing a little, short song very sweetly.’ And the flowers no less are loved each for its own special self. ‘The snowdrops nearly but not quite gone; a few purple crocuses, but of course not open this sunless day. The daphne very full of blossom. Many daffodils nearly out, but only two or three quite. The beautiful hepatica, which I used to love so.’ . . . Such sentences recur throughout his correspondence, and by that instinctive individualisation of bird and plant may be placed his jealous fondness for his treasure-troves of other things rare and lovely. ‘If you have one of his books,’ said a friend, ‘in your hands for a minute, he’ll take it away from you, *as if you were hurting it.*’ It is a feeling every child, to whom a toy is more than a toy, has shared with the poet-craftsman. And the childhood in the man, the manhood in the artist, persisted throughout his life.

The attitude of mind and heart from which he viewed

life was one the shadowy complexities, the troubled and disquieting loveliness of the art of Rossetti, and after another guise the emotional ideals of Burne-Jones, might by force of association obscure, but could not obliterate—‘I hope I am not quite unhumble, or want to be the only person in the world untroubled; but I have been ever loth to think that there were no people going through life, not without pain, indeed, but with simplicity and free from blinding entanglements. Such an one I want to be, and my faith is that it is possible for most men to be no worse.’ In his first volume of verses, dedicated to Rossetti, the accent, if more elemental and more dramatic in its alliance to primitive passion, has yet a very close kinship to Rossetti’s own genius. In the ‘Earthly Paradise’ he stands as a poet brother in arms to the painter of Pygmalion, the Psyche, and the Perseus legends. But in spite of all such twinship of sentiment or theme, we cannot dismiss the intuition that his native sympathies always transgressed the limits of such visions with their bounded fragility of loveliness to expand in regions of colder, clearer, and stronger climes; that his affinity lies with possibly less condensed, but more active passions—the passions of the North—that he moves more freely in scenes where the climax of emotion is not languor, where the extinction of self-consciousness in one single pulsation of the heart or the soul is fraught not with lassitude but energy. While, contrariwise in Rossetti’s dual art, in Burne-Jones’s painting, fever is for ever at its ebb-tide; not passion, but the reaction of passion embodies itself before us; not the seal but the impression on the wax; or perhaps, in some of Rossetti’s later pictures and earlier poems, another metaphor may present itself, and we may feel that the image evoked is not of the fire, but of those ashes of dead burnings which should more fitly have been swept from the very threshold of the House of Life.

Nor can any contrast be more complete than that presented by the mode in which the creative genius of Morris and Burne-Jones, acting and reacting either on the other, sought and found its congenial outlet. On Burne-Jones the lot was cast to be both by temperament and choice the artist above all things of conception. To embody his conceptions by the mediums and methods of the outward art of which he was master, limited his ambition. Where other mediums and other methods were in question, he left to others the execution of his great inventive designs for painted window or woven tapestry. He had no wish himself to translate

his own art into the language of other crafts. But for Morris the joy of invention lay no less in the execution than in the conception. The acquisition of manual mastery in one means of expression was with him but a signal for the acquisition of manual mastery over another. To express what was beautiful in one form sufficed him no whit. He was master dyer, master weaver, master printer, engraver, illuminator, by turns. The restless impulse to action dominates the whole record of the years. Contentment itself, that clogwheel of unrest, seems, except as regarded the composition of verse, to have effected no permanent or perceptible relaxation of energy. 'The life at Red House' was for Morris one of almost complete contentment—so his biographer speaks of the period when the birth of a first and a second child came to give that new future to hope that parentage confers. But work never ceased, either at Red House, at Kelmscott, or at Hammersmith; rather were all those around him swept into the eddies of his busy brain and hand. And when the times of 'almost unclouded' happiness drifted into that only immutable Eden—the past—he still remained, in a fellow-worker's graphic phrase, as a man going 'at twenty miles an hour.' Indeed, reading his life as the supplement to his works, Mr. Mackail's biography beside Mr. Vallance's 'record,' deeds and the doing of them, stand as his natural and vital element, and feeling takes the subsidiary part of a mere impulsion to action. Involuntarily we image Morris to ourselves companioned with soldier figures of schoolroom heroes—Greathart fighting the pilgrims' way through giants and lions to the House Beautiful; Sigurd, the great Volsung, 'who never did lose heart and of naught was adread'; Cœur de Lion as Walter Scott invented him. St. George rises before us as his prototype to whom dragons were a necessary of life, and Robin Hood, patron of all good Socialists—

'The good outlawe
Who dyde pore men much good,'

and whose example Morris was fain most cheerfully to follow. But, doer of deeds as he was, under all surface hardihoods lay warm and strong affections. He does not rank among those who stake the whole of happiness upon the doubtful issues of human ties, his life is no story of the hazardous game played by men who risk all for all on one throw of the dice, nor did life's interpretation lie for him in the emotions of heart or soul. Yet disappointments struck

him with unblunted edge. When Burne-Jones wrote to relinquish the idea of a joint household he received the news with no equable philosophy. 'Your letter was a blow to me at first,' Morris answered him, '. . . in short I cried, but I have got over it now.' And in later days, when in Iceland he sought and found no home letters at that 'black white-windowed cottage that I have seen in night-dreams and day-dreams so often since,' he wondered 'why doesn't one drop down or faint, or do something of that sort when it comes to the uttermost in such matters,' and other people's calmness astonishes him, as the reassuring packet, when discovered, is read, and his 'terror cured' he can take ship homewards in peace, the 'glorious simplicity of the terrible tragic but beautiful land, with its well-remembered stories of brave men,' having 'made all the dear faces of wife and children and love and friends dearer than ever to me.'

And if that deep-hearted tenderness lay beneath some superficial and inconsiderate roughness of bearing, under the violence, like the fugitive fury of a child, which was so familiar a feature of his character, lay a generosity which held no sediment of those long-hatched rancours—the root of many a man's wrath—that betray in one moment's flash the controlled resentment of colder tempers. In truth, it might be said that to do Morris an injury was to lay him under an inverse debt of kindness to the offender, as some may have realised when, a few years before his death, he appeared in court to make himself surety for the editor of the very newspaper which, owing its existence to Morris, had in Mr. Mowbray's hands been made not only a medium of adverse opinion but of personal attack. Nor can any, to whatsoever camp of political warfare they belong, fail to recognise the actuating principle of a true humanitarianism, a sincere and self-sacrificing desire for 'the bettering of the world,' which transformed as life went on the history of the artist whose aim was the Restitution of Beauty into that of the man whose service was primarily given to his fellow-men. Flaws all may find in his creed and in his practice; the narrowness of the dogmatist and the arrogance of the partisan. The transference of barriers is not their abolition. To make outcasts of the rich is no less contrary to the communism of the spirit than to make outcasts of the poor, and if true equality of soul does not question if a man be clothed in rags, neither does it inquire if he be clad in purple. Something of that

broader sympathy which caused Morris's fellow-poet of Socialism* to find a place among his songs of 'Les jours de Combat' for the sorrows of 'les pauvres petits riches' is undoubtedly lacking in Morris's utterances, as it is in the plagiarisms of many of his imitators. Yet such flaws remain the ephemeral accidents of what those who hold a sadder if a wiser faith must needs regard as transitional ideals of aim, while the labour, the courage, the devotion that at length undermined even Morris's strength belong to those eternal ideals of character which ennoble all aims and sanctify all ideals. 'Though I have many hopes and pleasures, or at least strong ones,' his own simple words to a friend may well serve as his life's epitaph. 'Though my life is dear to me, so much as I seem to have to do, I would give them away, hopes and pleasures, one by one, or all together, and my life at last for you, for my friendship, for my honour, for the world.'

So in the October of 1896, after not too prolonged a period of failing strength, surrounded by love, and care, and kindness, Morris, in the 'common word for a man's dying' he puts into John Ball's mouth, 'changed his life.' He left to art, as an artist, an abiding inheritance—the ideal of beauty in common things. As a man he bequeathed to men an ideal of beauty in human lives.

- 'Dust to dust fell idly on my ears,' wrote one of the friends† who had stood beside the open grave in the village churchyard, 'and in its stead a vision of the England which he dreamed of filled my mind. The little church grew brighter, looking as if it were filled with the spirit of a fuller faith embodied in an ampler ritual. . . . John Ball stood by the grave, with him a band of archers all in Lincoln green; birds twittered in the trees, and in the air the scent of apple-blossom and white hawthorn hung. All was much fairer than I have ever seen the country look, fair with a fairness that was never seen in England but by the poet, and yet a fairness with which he laboured to endue it. Once more the mist descended, and my sight grew dimmer; the England of the Fellowship was gone, John Ball had vanished, with him the archers; and in their place remained the knot of countrymen, plough-galled and bent with toil; the little church turned greyer, as if a reformation had passed over it.'

In 1898 the death of Edward Burne-Jones followed that of his friend, leaving the revolution they with their followers had wrought in art an accomplished fact, leaving, likewise, as revolutions are apt to do, the world unquietly expectant of a new dynasty.

* [Cloris Hugues.]

† Robert Cunninghame Graham.

- ART. V.—1. *Italy : From the Fall of Napoleon I., in 1815, to the year 1890.* By JOHN WEBB PROBYN. New Edition. London : 1891.
2. *The Union of Italy, 1815-1895.* By W. J. STILLMAN. Cambridge : 1898.
3. *A History of Italian Unity : being a Political History of Italy from 1814 to 1871.* By BOLTON KING, M.A. 2 vols. London : 1899.

ITALIAN Unity was the work of three generations of men. They found Italy, in Metternich's bitter phrase, a mere geographical expression ; they left her a great and united nation. The story of this marvellous change falls into three periods, each with its own special watchword : Liberty, Independence, Unity. These are the successive ideals which followed each other in a natural process of historic developement.

The first period, from 1815 to 1831, includes the earlier and later Carbonaro movements ; the strife for liberty with the stolid and benighted reaction of the restored princes of 1815. But the foreigner in the land was too strong. Every effort broke against the rock of Austrian predominance and power, till it became clear that without independence there could not be liberty. During the second period, which lasts from 1831 till the fall of Rome in July 1849, independence is the goal. It is the watchword of the great struggle of 1848. But enthusiasm without union was no match for Austria, even in her hour of anguish, or for the forces of clerical and despotic reaction, which triumphed at Rome and in the South. Bitter experience taught the patriots that to enthusiasm they must add knowledge ; to boldness, deliberate self-restraint. Only unity could lead to independence, as independence to liberty. For the sake of unity Republicans and Moderates had to subordinate their own political prejudices ; regions had to sacrifice their autonomy, and even their institutions, till in the end too hasty assimilation, and pedantic craze for uniformity, may have somewhat restricted liberty itself.

Such is the story told in the three books before us. In the main they tell it in the same way, but they devote very different proportions of their space to our three periods. Mr. Probyn and Mr. Stillman both allow 120 pages only to the eventful years from 1849 to 1871, while the former gives 160 and the latter 240 pages to the first two periods.

On the other hand, Mr. King allows 447 pages to the third period and only 352 to the first two. It follows that his account of the last period is far the fullest and most interesting, and we think there is some internal evidence that it is the part of his work to which he has devoted most labour and thought.

Book-learning, however, is not the only road to the understanding of contemporary or quasi-contemporary history, and we are glad to learn from Mr. Probyn that 'during the period which elapsed between the summer of 1859 and the commencement of 1867 he passed the greater part of each year in Italy and amongst Italians, as well as the memorable autumn and winter of 1870 and the spring of 1871.' Similarly Mr. Stillman tells us that 'from boyhood a romantic lover of Italy, he went thither in 1861, and during subsequent years there has been no long interval in which he was not intimately conversant with the course of events.' In fact, he was for many years correspondent of the 'Times' at Rome, a post from which he did not retire until 1898.

Mr. Probyn's little book is a straightforward and simple account, written from a Liberal, but not Radical, point of view. *His list of authorities is a modest one.* He professes to have read or consulted only nineteen works against the 171 of Mr. Stillman's, and the 775 of Mr. King's, bibliography. Nevertheless the value of his book is by no means to be measured by these figures. By not attempting too much detail, and avoiding frequent or lengthy criticisms, and discussions of debateable points, he is able to give us a most clear and readable sketch of events, down, at any rate, to 1859. From that date his book can hardly compete with the other two. The first edition came out in 1884, when much of the material for the later history was not yet available. Even Cavour's letters had not then been published.

The volume from Mr. Stillman's pen is fully worthy of the series to which it belongs. It is the very thing for the student who wishes to be introduced to modern Italian history. The newest, and at the same time the most controvertible, matter is contained in the last chapter; but as that deals with politics and parties since the completion of the union in 1871, we need say no more of it here. There are, however, two of the writer's peculiar prejudices and partialities which peep out at an earlier period. His strong dislike of the French, and his admiration, by no means

unjustifiable, for Crispi, lead occasionally to reflexions which conflict with his otherwise just estimate of Cavour, whom he calls 'the greatest of modern Italians.' The following is an instance of that over-emphatic statement of individual and very disputable opinion to which Mr. Stillman is prone:—

'It was a sound apprehension, growing out of the perception of the danger of French friendship, that led England to oppose those tendencies of Cavour which ended in the war of 1859 and the emancipation of Lombardy. And I am profoundly convinced that most of the morbid conditions of current Italian politics are due to the germs planted in the national constitution by that initial mistake.'

We have no weakness for Louis Napoleon. It was not for his *beaux yeux* that Cavour, that Victor Emmanuel had, of very necessity, to make use of that two-edged sword, that slippery friend, without whose aid, nevertheless, advance was impossible. But for the 'initial mistake' there would never have been an Italy at all! Mr. Stillman cannot really think, with the Republicans of that day, that Italians could by their own unaided martial vigour have won their way to unity in the teeth of Catholic Europe. Still less does he believe, as is clear from other passages, that they had much to hope from the system of conspiracies and insurrections. We find it only natural that, in his brief account of Garibaldi's dictatorship in Sicily, he should take an extremely 'Crispino' view of the bickerings and of the real conflict of policy between the nominees of Garibaldi and of Cavour, and throw all the blame on Cavour. It does not seem to occur to him that both parties were wrong, possibly equally wrong.

Mr. King's opinion is a very different one: 'Crispi's misrule was the first of the series of blunders which marred the early years of Italian rule in the South;' and again: 'In the cool judgement of after years no excuse is possible for the men who, led by Crispi at Palermo, and Bertani at Genoa, were trying to postpone annexation indefinitely.' Yet of our three historians it is Mr. King who usually approximates most to the Radical, occasionally even to the Mazzinian, point of view! We do not wish to enter the fray. This is not the place. The dispute has much greater importance for the social and political history of the South than for that of the union of Italy. Be it here said that none of our three guides has the clue to the problem of the South. Although they write with feeling and sympathy of the struggles of Sicily, and cannot

resist the fascination of the Sicilian character, the South in general has remained to them, if not an absolutely sealed book, at any rate a volume to be glanced at, not read; not studied, but skimmed without interest, and hardly with curiosity. This want of interest is partly explained by the fact that, with occasional exceptions, the South was of less moment in the unitarian movement than the rest of Italy, and, although Neapolitan Liberals suffered far more and more cruelly than those of any other region, they did not produce any of the greatest figures of the Revolution. The insufficient interest leads to inadequate treatment, and to some degree of carelessness. The most conspicuous slips we have come across in Mr. King's book—which is on the whole a work of careful accuracy—all occur in connexion with the South. We laugh a good deal at foreigners' carelessness in spelling English names; we hardly should hold up Tivaroni, now the standard Italian historian of the 'Risorgimento,' as an example for imitation, when he writes of 'Sir Williams Gladstone.' Yet Mr. King throughout, even in the Index, writes 'Capitinata' for 'Capitanata,' and 'Delcarotto' for 'Delcarretto.' He also misspells Tanucci's name. On the three or four occasions when he has to mention the Cilento, the triangle between the Gulfs of Salerno and Policastro, he obviously supposes it to be a town, and not a district. Curiously enough, Mr. Probyn makes the same mistake in speaking of the rising at Bosco in the Cilento on June 28, 1828, which he describes as occurring 'at a place called Cilento.'

Mr. King makes one glaring misstatement of fact through stumbling into a linguistic trap of the kind which occasionally will catch even the cleverest. In mentioning the insurrection of September 1, 1847, at Reggio, in Calabria—of which, by the way, Edward Lear, the artist, was an eyewitness—he says: 'The insurgents were driven back on Aspromonte, where the Government easily crushed the immature movement, and shot forty-seven of the insurgents in cold blood.' Mr. Stillman, on the other hand, tells us that 'fourteen of the insurgents were condemned to death and four were executed.' But even he has not given the figures correctly. Nine in all were executed. The facts are as follows:—Of 200 insurgents taken prisoners between Reggio and Gerace, five were condemned by the military commission which sat at Gerace, and shot on October 2. Another commission, sitting at Reggio, during the month of November sentenced fourteen more to death, but of these fourteen only four were

actually executed. Now the historian Nisco, in an account of these events, after mentioning by name the five Calabrians sentenced at Gerace, uses the following words : ‘Il giorno ‘2 Ottobre quarantasette questi generosi furono fucilati,’ i.e. ‘On October 2 [eighteen hundred and] forty-seven ‘these brave fellows were shot.’

There are few works so bulky and so full of detail as Mr. King’s history that do not contain many slips as bad as this. We only wish he had given us four volumes instead of two. Then he might have found room—as does Mr. Probyn, despite his limited space—occasionally to quote the *ipsissima verba* of statutes, documents, and despatches. Then he need not have so ruthlessly excluded every one of those racy and characteristic stories of the time which would have helped to a fuller and more concrete presentation of many of the scenes and actors in the drama. They would encourage the reader of the idler sort, and, above all, they would dissipate the too common notion that Italian patriots were all tears and sentiment and ‘high-falutin’.

Mr. King’s youth—he was a little boy at the time when his history closes in 1871—deprives him of the advantage enjoyed by his rivals in having lived much in Italy during those stirring times. It is remarkable how little his work suffers from this circumstance, though its effect is noticeable occasionally—for instance, in his treatment of Mazzini. Men of exactly the same cast and calibre of mind, of exactly the same political prejudices and associations, are apt to judge Mazzini from a very different point of view, according as they happen to be Englishmen or Italians. To the Englishman Mazzini is essentially the political philosopher. To the Italian he is, above all, an actor in his country’s drama. Now Mr. King has two manners in writing of Mazzini. In his first manner we see the enthusiastic student of the great teacher’s writings spell-bound by their literary and ethical fascination; in the second the sober historian scrutinising by the dry light of reason the good and evil actually accomplished in the history of the Peninsula by that inflexible but overweeningly egotistical doctrinaire.

The treatment of social and economic subjects, again, is that of an English philanthropic reformer, of the student of English industrial questions, and shows a certain lack of intimacy with the peculiar dress which the same problems put on in Italy.

On a future occasion we hope to deal with the later history; at present we are concerned only with the two earlier periods down to 1849, which roughly correspond with Mr. King's first volume.

The Liberals of the Carbonaro period, but for the interference of Austria, might have attained their object, notwithstanding Mazzini's disparaging criticism, which, of Piedmont at least, is utterly untrue. 'The Carbonaro revolutions 'failed,' said he, 'because their leaders were men of small 'capacity or originality. They had no programme beyond 'the overthrow of the absolutist governments, no social 'outlook beyond industrial freedom and a presentable system 'of law and education.'

The greatest vigour and stubbornness were shown in Sicily. But there traditional liberties and insular separatist feeling were the distinctive elements. For that reason Sicilian revolution was not in 1820 a step in the ladder of the Italian movement as it was in 1848. The Neapolitan revolution which preceded and led up to the Sicilian was purely military, and to some extent accidental. We might never have heard of it if Nugent had been a man of administrative ability. Of Irish birth, he had served long and brilliantly in the Austrian army, till, after the restoration of 1815, he was appointed 'Captain-General' of the Neapolitan forces. Had he been capable of maintaining military discipline and winning the support of the Murattist officers, who were the best element in the army, or even had Pepe's military district of Avellino happened instead to be under Church, who till a few weeks previously had commanded the lower Apulian district, the events of Nola, Mercogliano, and Avellino could scarcely have happened. But the very want of discipline and military loyalty that gave birth to the revolution also caused its destruction. The Neapolitan troops, which had proved their worth against Masséna and in Napoleon's campaigns, made no stand against Austrian invasion, and Ferdinand, the clown king, the 'Re Lazzarone,' returned to persecute the men whom he had ostentatiously thanked for 'the great service they 'had rendered to him and to the nation,' and to revoke the constitution for which he had thanked God, 'who has permitted me in my old age to do a great good to my kingdom,' and to which he had solemnly sworn, adding to the formal oath these words of his own accord as he fixed his eyes on the altar: 'Omnipotent God, who with infinite 'penetration lookest into the heart and into the future, if I

‘ lie, or if one day I should be faithless to my oath, do Thou
‘ at this instant annihilate me ! ’

The severities of Ferdinand’s rule on his first restoration, after the brief republican interlude of 1799, had their explanation, their palliation, in his own nervous terror, and in the horror of all revolutionaries which not unnaturally had possessed the mind of his masterful queen, Mary Caroline, since the fate of her sister Marie Antoinette. And what were these severities beside the 12,000 executions in 200 days of the Revolutionary Tribunal of 1793 ? But Mary Caroline had now long passed from the scene, and the Carbonari were of far milder temper than the men of the mountain. Ferdinand’s treachery was deliberate, of malice prepense, scarcely provoked. It rang the knell of his dynasty. ‘ *Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat.* ’

The Piedmontese revolution of 1821 was more normal. Its first overt sign was the appearance at the theatre of four students in red caps, and, although the army decided the crisis, it was actuated by patriotism, not by insubordination. Santarosa was the hero of the movement, the cry of ‘ War ‘ to Austria ’ its glory. It clearly marked out the house of Savoy for the future kingdom. One proclamation of the committee of Alessandria promulgates the constitution, ‘ in ‘ the name of the Italian Confederation, and of Italian inde- ‘ pendency.’ Another says : ‘ The national committee shall ‘ be considered legitimately formed, when the king shall have ‘ made his person sacred and inviolable, by the legitimisation ‘ of his authority as King of Italy.’ How unfair to such aspirations as these is the passage already quoted from Mazzini !

The king, Victor Emmanuel I., would not grant the ‘ Spanish ’ Constitution of 1812, a doctrinaire house of cards that was in great favour with all the Carbonari. He did not believe in it; he knew that he could not defend it against Austria, backed by Russia and Prussia. Events had made it too late for the movement to quiet down peacefully, and he shrank from a resistance that meant civil war, for the feeling of the army was doubtful and divided. So he cut the knot by abdicating :—

‘ O night of the 13th of March,’ exclaims Santarosa, ‘ night fatal to my country, which disheartened us all, which broke so many swords raised for the cause of liberty, and dispersed like a dream so many cherished hopes ! The country did not indeed fall with the king, but that country was for us personified in the king, in Victor Emmanuel, and the youthful promoters of that military revolution ex-

claimed more than once, "Perhaps some day he will pardon us for making him king of six millions of Italians."

Contrast Victor Emmanuel's conduct with that of Ferdinand of Naples! Contrast the loyalty of the feeling which the very conspirators entertained for the king!

Much of the human interest of the story lies in Charles Albert of Carignan, who is now first introduced to us. His characteristic vacillation becomes apparent at once. Though heir presumptive to the throne, he had relations with the Carbonari. There are conflicting versions—well told by Mr. Stillman, and sifted in an appendix to Mr. King's book—of what passed at an interview between the prince and the leading conspirators; but it is pretty certain that, in some form or other, he promised his adhesion, when satisfied that no hostile action was to be taken against the king. 'But on the morrow, frightened and penitent, above all anxious to have no share in suborning the army, he betrayed the secret to the Government.' Charles Albert's weakness was of no great national moment on that occasion, nor even while he was regent after the abdication, and pending the arrival of the new king, Charles Felix, Victor Emmanuel's younger brother. But it was an indication of what was to come.

For the priest-ridden Charles Felix we must quote Mr. King:—

'Not cruel by nature, he looked on the revolution as the accursed thing, and meant to stamp it out. Charles Felix was an absolutist of the strictest sect. But he had no qualifications for playing the grand monarch. Alone among the princes of Savoy he was no soldier. Of poor presence, superstitious, irritable, he had few friends, and his chroniclers have dealt hardly with him.'

During his reign the popular heir to the throne swam with the tide. Metternich gives the following account of a meeting with Charles Albert at Genoa in 1825: "I was a 'tool,' he said, taking leave of me, "and I was so completely; "to-day I do not wish to be so, and I will be so no more. "I have learned Liberalism and its directors, and I am "disgusted with them." His entire conduct is, in fact, conformed to this declaration, and the Emperor thinks, as I do, that he is not likely to be recaptured easily. God grant it.' Yet he seems to have been trying to stand well with the Liberals at the same time. On his accession in 1831 they looked for large reforms. Mazzini published a letter appealing to him to lead the Nationalists. The

reactionary Court did not feel sure that he might not return to his old love. 'We must make him taste blood,' said Count Cimiez, 'or he will escape us.' Disappointed in their expectations, Mazzini and his henchmen began to plot. They were severely repressed. Twelve executions satisfied Count Cimiez's desire. But the king's health had broken down. He lived on potatoes and spinach, and fell into the hands of quacks. He was suffering from extreme nervous exhaustion, and was subject to sudden terrors and inexplicable fears. No wonder that the blood which had been shed weighed on his shattered nerves and superstitious mind. Remorse drove him into a sombre mysticism. He wore a hair shirt, and performed acts of expiation. Jesuits and courtiers played upon his nervous fancies for their own purposes. Mr. Stillman tells the following strange story:—

'The minister of war was in consultation with the king, when several blows were struck behind a curtain of the hall in which they were. The king turned pale. "It is nothing, Sire," said his minister; "somebody is waiting there doubtless." "You are not religious, you," replied the king, with a sombre and preoccupied air. At the end of some minutes the sound recurred. The king turned pale again, began to tremble, and, quitting the astonished minister, went to kneel before a crucifix in an adjoining room. People interested in enfeebling his character had persuaded him that Queen Clotilde, wife of Charles Emmanuel IV., who had died at Naples in the odour of sanctity, returned from time to time to the palace. Often indeed a mysterious voice, coming from a corner where no one was to be seen, ordered the king what he must do. The spirit scattered in his way morsels of stuffs which the king carried as amulets. Finally it was discovered that this miserable phantasmagory was the work of a valet, a ventriloquist, in conspiracy with a bribed *femme de chambre*.'

But the tide soon began to turn again, and with it Charles Albert. The rise of the 'moderate' school between 1837 and 1847 showed that men might be Liberals and patriots without being republicans or revolutionaries. It is of these years that Mr. Stillman writes: 'The healthy progress made by Italian Liberalism in spite of repression in the period between 1830 and 1846, and the disastrous failures of the succeeding period in which the Mazzinian agitation began, justify the policy of the Italian Conservatives and their distrust of the Republican propaganda.' During the same decade Charles Albert's legal commissions published the enlightened 'Albertine' codes. Reform was in the air. Several minor instances of Austria's bullying interference touched the king's dynastic pride and roused

his spirit again. Then Pius IX. came on the scene. A reforming Pope was an encouragement to the king's reviving Liberalism.

'His conscience was at rest now that he was progressing on the same road as the head of the Church, and could set the Pope's example against the warnings of confessor and Jesuits.' And so the flowing tide swept him into the grant of the constitution, the 'Statuto' of March 4, 1848, which is to this day the fundamental law of united Italy. It swept him on into the disastrous war with Austria, where his characteristic defects helped to make victory impossible. Hear how Minghetti describes him during the campaign in a letter quoted by Mr. Stillman:—

'All the defects of his character, so entirely speculative, here come out. On the slightest strategical movement the king became engaged in a labyrinth of speculations as to the result, and arrived finally at no decision. One may say in the final analysis that the real military talent of Charles Albert consisted in seeing the defects of all combinations, even those of his own. He passed his nights in prayer. His gaunt face, like that of a man sick almost to death, and yet so full of fire; his sadness, which seemed even to repel the semblance of a smile, had a magnetic effect on the troops.'

And so he drifted on till the fatal day of Novara. At night he called together the generals and princes, and said:—

'Gentlemen, I have sacrificed myself to the cause of Italian independence; for it I have exposed my life, that of my sons, and my crown. I cannot maintain the struggle. I understand that my person may be an obstacle to the conclusion of a peace now become indispensable. I cannot sign it. Since I have not been able to find death on the battle-field, I will make the last sacrifice to my country. I lay down my crown, and abdicate in favour of my son.'

'His long tortuous career had closed in noble failure. And his country's love enshrined him the martyr of the national war, the patriot king, who had risked crown and life for a great Italian hope, the royal democrat, who had cast away the prejudices of a lifetime to rally his country to one last ill-starred but splendid venture.' So Mr. King describes the posthumous outburst of enthusiasm for Charles Albert's memory. The Italy of to-day still judges that memory tenderly. At the inauguration of the monument which has just been erected in the garden of the Via del Quirinale Signor Chimirri began his speech with the following words: 'On this augural hill, where Numa raised a temple to Romulus Quirinus, we to-day accomplish another apotheosis, inaugurating a monument to the

‘magnanimous King who was the true precursor of the ‘national Re-aring whence issued the new Italy.’ Bombast of this kind is but fungus growth on the surface of the national myth. The court of history can never set aside the severe sentence pronounced once for all by Mazzini. This is how it runs :---

‘Genius, love, and faith were wanting in Charles Albert. Of the first, which reveals itself by a life entirely, logically, and resolutely devoted to a great idea, the career of Charles Albert does not offer the least trace; the second was stifled in him by the continual mistrust of men and of things which was awakened by the remembrance of his unhappy past; the last was denied him by his uncertain character, wavering always between good and evil, between *to do* and *not to do*, between daring and not daring. In his youth a thought, not of virtue, but of Italian ambition—the ambition, however, which may be profitable to nations—had passed through his soul like lightning; but he recoiled in affright, and the remembrance of this one brilliant moment of his youth presented itself hourly to him, and tortured him like the incessant throbbing of an old wound, instead of acting upon him as an incitement to a new life. Between the risk of losing, if he failed, the crown of his little kingdom, and the fear of the liberty which the people, after having fought for him, would claim for themselves, he went hesitating on with this spectre before his eyes, stumbling at every step, without energy to confront these dangers, without the will or power to comprehend that to become King of Italy he must first of all forget that he was King of Piedmont. Despotism from rooted instinct, liberal from self-love, and from a presentiment of the future, he submitted alternately to the government of the Jesuits and to that of men of progress. A fatal disunion between thought and action, between conception and the faculty of execution, showed itself in every act. Most of those who endeavoured to place him at the head of the enterprise were forced to agree to this view of his character. Some of those intimate with him went so far as to whisper that he was threatened with lunacy. He was the Hamlet of monarchy.’

Charles Albert’s character was but one of the elements of weakness that contributed to the failure of that first struggle for independence. Others were provincial jealousies; party friction between Moderates and Republicans; lack of practical administrative and political experience among the Liberals; the predominance of literary men among their leaders; reliance on enthusiasm rather than on organisation; too little strenuous discipline and too much emotion, or, as Cavour complained at a later date, ‘too many songs about ‘Italy.’ Mr. King writes: ‘Some of the reasons of defeat ‘were accidental; had Piedmont possessed a capable general, ‘or an honest man sat on the throne of Naples, not all the ‘staying power of Radetzky’s army would have availed.’

As a matter of fact, the element of unlucky accident was not nearly so conspicuous at this time as was that of marvellously good luck in 1860. But if the cards are to be re-shuffled, and dealt again according to fancy in this way, we should prefer to speculate on how the tricks might have fallen had Cavour directed Piedmontese policy in 1848, or Radetzky commanded the Austrian forces in 1859. For our plain answer to the question, 'What caused the failure 'in Northern Italy?' can only be, 'Radetzky and his 'Croats.'

The reluctance of Liberals, and especially of Republicans, to admit that any good thing could come out of Austria, led them to throw all blame on the weakness or lukewarmness of their leaders. So the boulevards of Paris shrieked treachery in 1870. Our historians are not quite free from this tendency; moreover, they incline to underrate the vigour and capacity of men whose moral and political conduct they condemn. Radetzky, for instance, is no favourite with Mr. King, who writes of him from a purely Italian point of view, and displays strong humanitarian repugnance to the severity of the old general's repressive measures, while hardly doing justice to his purely military qualities. Yet surely his wonderful tenacity, his *mens æqua in arduis*, influenced the result just as much as did the shilly-shallying of the Piedmontese generals in '48, or the disastrous incompetence of Chranowsky in '49.

So, too, the well-deserved execration that all right-minded men must feel for the tyranny of Ferdinand the Second's rule has led to an utterly erroneous estimate of his power and historic effectiveness.

Like Nero, Ferdinand began well. On his accession, in 1830, he excited the hopes of his subjects by censuring his father's rule, and declaring his desire to heal the wounds of the State. His good looks and soldierly bearing—he was only twenty at the time—won the heart of the populace, and he undoubtedly improved the discipline of the army. Unlike his father and grandfather, he was not a profligate. His family life was pure. Unlike them, too, he was not a coward. When Agesilao Milano attempted his life on parade, he showed a good deal of calm courage. After he lost his look of youth, the puffy fat figure, noisy swagger, and jaunty familiar manner were those of a typical vulgar Neapolitan. Yet there was something in his tone, when displeased, that made better men quail in his presence. His superstition and his ignorance were stupendous. For

literature, for science, and for the liberal professions he had the most unbounded contempt. 'What matters a quill-driver more or less?' he would say. During the early years of his reign there was some relaxation of severity, which combined with the king's first aureole of popularity to save the South from disturbance during the Bolognese movements of 1831. But after the death of his first queen, the gentle and beloved daughter of Victor Emmanuel I., in 1835, Ferdinand returned to the ways of his ancestors, only with ten times their vigour and persistency.

The constitution of 1848 was not extorted from his weakness. He had realised the serious difficulties of the moment. There was revolution in Sicily, and an outbreak in the Cilento; Delcarretto, the hitherto omnipotent minister, had turned traitor a few days before, and been very summarily dealt with; the generals did not feel sure that the army could be relied on. So Ferdinand thought it politic to take time by the forelock, and felt a mischievous pleasure in 'dishing the Whigs,' by granting of his own motion a constitution, before any of the professedly reforming princes had ventured to accept one. For the moment, no doubt, his ambition was tempted by this policy, which seemed to open a prospect of outstripping the Piedmontese monarch in the race for the throne of Italy. We do not believe that the king intended from the first to repudiate the constitution. But none of the high-souled Neapolitan patriots had his force of will; as for Bozzelli, he was mere putty in the king's hand. So, when the wind veered, and things looked better for autocracy, and worse for would-be Liberal princes, the tyrant deliberately broke his pledges, and the reign of terror set in.

This most savage of Italian political persecutions is not to be measured by the number of death sentences, which were few, but by the peculiar spirit of obscurantism that directed it principally against members of the learned professions, and the unspeakable brutality of mixing up such men in the filthiest dungeons with criminals drawn from the lowest dregs of the populace. The king's callousness to the positive tortures suffered by men of this class in their confinement is to some extent explained by his contempt for 'the quill-drivers.' He would more easily have felt for the common felon chained to Poerio than for Poerio chained to the felon. Ferdinand pursued with absolute ruthlessness his policy of 'Thorough.' In Peccheneda he found his Jeffreys. Not the slightest heed did he pay to the terrible

indictment of Mr. Gladstone's letters to Lord Aberdeen, still less to mild diplomatic remonstrance. He knew that he was master now, and master he remained through those terrible ten years till the day of his death. Yet he had no statesmanship or capacity to establish the despotism for his successor on a firm military basis. When he was gone, not sixteen months elapsed before his kingdom was overrun by a handful of bold adventurers. Ferdinand alone of the Bourbons was a man to be reckoned with.

It was not only the military power of Austria that was underestimated by the Radicals of '48. With the tendency that lurks in every party to exaggerate its own numbers, the enthusiasts thought they were all Italy, and Mazzini talked of twenty millions of men, quite failing to appreciate at their true strength the Catholic and Conservative forces opposed to them. Their purblindness has in some degree descended to our Liberal historians, who have not studied the Conservatives with the same sympathising diligence that they have devoted to the Liberals. There is some justification for them in that they are writing the history, not of Italy, but of the Union of Italy; and the Liberals of '48 were potentially the united Italy of the future. But we would have them measure all the phenomena with the same measure. The concentration of their interest on the one party prevents their setting before us the other with equal clearness and fairness. Consequently they do not really enable us to understand its strength. We quote Mr. King's description of Catholic feeling, although the first part of it seems to us to paint the position and difficulties of those Moderates who were Catholics yet Liberals, fervid Italians yet loyal sons of the Church, rather than the attitude of the pure Conservatives. It runs as follows:—

‘Between the Liberals and Catholics ran at bottom the fundamental cleavage. To the devotees Liberalism meant the loosening of religion, and though often scandalised by the corruption of the Roman Court, they feared that any blow to the Papacy might be a blow to the Church and all that the Church safeguarded. Between the two schools lay deep difference of creed as to the sanction of morality. Catholics, who believed that authority and tradition were its only bulwarks, thought that if once men ceased to walk in the strait path of the Church they might be tempted to the abyss where walked unclean things. They dreaded free inquiry, the contempt of forms, the questioning of institutions indissolubly, so they believed, bound up with more precious things. . . . Behind the men and women who thought thus lay the enthusiasm of Catholic devotees throughout the world, to whom the Papacy was Catholic rather than Italian, who cared

nothing for Italian aspirations, but much for the glory of the tiara, and felt a chivalrous desire to defend a venerable and splendid name, whose own resources of defence had proved so feeble.'

Doubtless much of the Catholic opposition to national aspirations was the work of priests, playing the game of their own order. The influence of that order is, and must be, all-pervading among a Catholic people, which, without being seriously religious, is little affected by free thought. The law still allowed full scope for the exercise of that influence at the three critical moments of individual life - birth, marriage, and death—moments which even now, in spite of modern legislation, provide the priesthood with opportunities of which they take advantage to the full. Yet many of the hierarchy of the better sort had a genuine faith in the supernatural character of their own sacred office. Pius IX. really believed himself to be the Vicar of God upon earth. And we must assert our conviction that thousands of deeply religious laymen throughout Italy, as well as a far larger number of religious women, seriously and earnestly believed that all Liberals—Freemasons especially—were enemies of God and 'our holy religion;' believed that to accept Liberal views might, nay must, endanger their own hopes for the world to come. It is not on their power of moral elevation, or on any sweet reasonableness, that persuasions of this kind depend for their force, but on their sincerity. Must we jeer at them? Must we insinuate that they are nothing but the care for loaves and fishes, masked under a show of religion, because they are not our views, nor the views of the men who rescued Italy? After all, are they really so much more ridiculous than those that are characterised in the following phrases?—

'His political beliefs were to him articles of faith that admitted no questioning; wrong politics to him implied wrong morals; he was dogmatic, intolerant, too forward to obtrude the belief that he and no other was the true prophet; and though in after life he sometimes compromised, it was always against the grain, and with a half-sense of wrong-doing. None the less he stands first among the makers of Italy. . . . As moralist, as inspirer, he stands on a pinnacle where he has no rival, a prophet to Italy and the world.'

With this rather hysterical sentence Mr. King concludes a very sympathetic estimate of Mazzini, of which we shall quote the most striking portion:—

'Mazzini was the soul of the movement of 1848. The belief in a national mission was the corner-stone of his politics. The current depreciation of his country drove him into hyperbole, and

he painted Italy initiating a new life among the nations, Rome a third time the world's teacher, reconciling Roman justice and Christian altruism in the new social gospel. This new Italy must be Republican and indivisible. . . . The circumstances of Italy, all her traditions, all her great memories, he claimed for Republicanism. A Royalist war of liberty, even if it brought a constitution in its wake, would leave the social fabric still unended, and in the Republic Mazzini saw the ideal commonwealth, where privilege was banished, where the poor were made the State's first care, where association and education opened an infinite view of progress. With such a vision before their eyes the people, he had persuaded himself, would rise in mass to expel the Austrians. Yet even dearer to Mazzini than the Republic was Italian unity. Only through unity could Italy be strong and democratic; only when Rome became her capital could she hold her place among the nations of Europe and teach a nobler ideal of government.

'Mazzini's hopes have been realised only in part. His work, from its clear high dawn to its dark and misty close, broke ineffectually against the obstacles that must meet the pure revolutionist. . . . As a man of action he failed. He always underrated the obstacles in front of him. He was, even apart from the irritability which may be pardoned to his misfortunes, a difficult man to work with. In old age he became, as many a conspirator tends to be, a mere mischief-maker.' At the last 'he intended to use against his own countrymen the arms which Bismarck had promised him. This marks the last stage of his decline from patriot to conspirator, and it was well for him that the Government arrested him and imprisoned him at Gaeta in August 1870.'

Mr. King relegates to an appendix all discussion of the often-repeated charge that his hero encouraged political assassination. He establishes, by quotations from Mazzini's writings, 'that in theory he held assassination to be wrong, 'unless in very exceptional cases. That he refused to condemn the honest assassinator as morally guilty, and would 'throw no stone at the man who killed a traitor, yet that 'he held assassination to be often a crime, and almost 'always a blunder.'

Turning from theory to practice, we find that 'on one 'occasion,' in his early days, Mazzini encouraged assassination. 'A Corsican named Gallenga came to Mazzini in '1853, to tell him that he intended to assassinate Charles 'Albert, in revenge for a brother who had perished in the 'Revolution of 1821. Mazzini tried to dissuade him, but 'not succeeding, and convinced that Gallenga was one of 'those "whom Providence sends from time to time to teach 'despots that their life may depend upon the will of a 'single man," gave him a dagger and money.' Gallenga did not carry out his intention.

The only other case that throws any real light on the matter is that of Pasquale Greco, which Mr. King does not relate with his usual transparent frankness. We follow Diamilla-Müller's account. In the spring of 1863 some of the more fanatical Republicans in Turin hatched a plot to assassinate Napoleon III., and got hold of this Greco, a Calabrian, to do the deed. In the latter part of April they arranged that Libertini should introduce the intended assassin to Mazzini, who was then at Lugano, and inform him of the plot, of which so far Mazzini knew nothing. When Mazzini was told of the design, and that the assassin was to be brought to see him, he would not receive Greco, but he did not speak a word in condemnation of the ugly proposal. Here is the letter which he wrote to Diamilla-Müller, his confidential agent: --

'Dear M.,

'Tell Libertini that I don't see why this Pasquale Greco should come to see me. All the world knows of my residence here, and it is unfair of my friends (*è male da parte de' miei amici*).

'Your GIUSEPPE.'

So the 'nature of purest temper' does not quite act up to his own precepts. This was no 'very exceptional case.' There was no question of 'condemning the accomplished act' of an honest fanatic. Nor can 'youthful indiscretion' be pleaded as for the Gallenga incident. We have no desire to exaggerate the criminality of political murder, but we fail to see why an accessory before the fact to political assassination is in any less degree a political assassin than an accessory before the fact to common murder is a murderer.

Can we fairly gather from that letter that Mazzini would have preferred that the attempt should not be made? It is a cowardly letter. Not a word to dissuade the bravo from risking his own life. Not a word to dissuade the rash disciples from putting themselves in the power of this Greco who might himself turn traitor! Yet, 'as moralist, as inspirer, Mazzini stands on a pinnacle where he has no rival, a prophet to Italy and the world.' If this be the true doctrinaire faith, we prefer to sit with the heretics.

On the other hand, it must be recorded in Mazzini's honour that he was no persecutor. During the short time he was actually engaged in the practical business of government, as Triumvir of the Roman Republic, he moderated to the best of his power the excesses of his more frenzied allies; he entrusted finance to capable hands, and succeeded in

maintaining quiet in the city itself, to a degree which is really extraordinary, considering the tumultuous traditions of French and Italian democracy, and the unbridled license which previous slackness had allowed to the mob leaders. In the provinces there were many instances of Jacobin tyranny. At Sinigaglia the Mastai family were tormented and temporarily detained as hostages, on account of their relationship to the Pope, while sundry atrocities were committed in the Marches and in Romagna. But there was no connivance on Mazzini's part. After a first bad choice of commissioners Felice Orsini, better known to Englishmen as the author of an attempt on the life of Napoleon III. some ten years later, was sent with full powers to re-establish order, which he did most loyally and efficiently.

In fact, Mazzini did his best to govern well, but the task was herculean in districts where disorder and brutal outrages by both factions had long been endemic. During the whole Carbonaro period Romagna, and those other parts of the Papal States which were distant from Rome, had been in a continual ferment, while Rome itself remained in a state of tranquil lethargy. In like manner, and from like causes, the quiescence of the city of Naples contrasts strangely with the restlessness of Basilicata, Calabria, and Sicily during the same period. In fact, the relations of Rome to Romagna were not altogether unlike those of Naples to Sicily. The capitals enjoyed the lion's share of patronage, preferment, and profit, to their own satisfaction, but to the disgust of the remoter provinces.

The effervescence culminated in the revolt of Bologna in 1831; suppressed, as usual, by the Austrians. 'The movement of that year,' says Mr. Stillman, endorsing Mazzini's criticism quoted above, 'only showed the strength of popular discontent, but developed no distinct aim or national tendencies that might entitle it to consideration as a step in the national developement.' Indeed that developement, so far from gaining, lost ground by the movement, which indirectly raised obstacles that could not then have been foreseen. The Austrian occupation of Papal territory roused the jealousy of the French, who in February 1832 seized Ancona by surprise, and only evacuated it in 1837, when the Austrians simultaneously withdrew. Thus was laid down the evil precedent for the Civita Vecchia expeditions of 1849 and 1867.

The sore in Romagna went on festering all through the pontificate of Gregory XVI. One of the later eruptions at

Rimini, in 1845, occasioned the publication of Massimo d'Azeglio's pamphlet on the '*Ultimi Casi di Romagna.*' As Mr. King tells us, 'the book at once made a party,' though, when we read it at this time of day, it is not obvious why the long-winded and not always clear reasoning should have been so effective. But Miughetti has preserved the key for us, and no one was better qualified to judge. '*I Casi di Romagna,*' he says, 'was the earliest practical exposition of the programme then first adopted—the substitution of public, peaceful, serious, and courageous discussion of our affairs for secret societies and plots.'

The book told not only on Italian public opinion, but on the new Pope himself, who owed to its pages, as well as to those of Gioberti's '*Primato,*' some of his Liberal tendencies, some more to the personal influence of his fellow-countryman, Count Pasolini, but probably most of all to his own benevolent, if not clear-sighted, nature.

What are we to say of good, kindly, easy-going Pius IX.? What else than he said of himself?—'Good God! They want to make a Napoleon of me, who am only a poor country parson.' He was, in fact, an average specimen of a not uncommon type of Italian character. Good-natured and well-intentioned, not easily stirred to wrath, not intolerant, not cruel or revengeful, but morally rather than physically timid, disinclined for exertion of any kind, and particularly for mental effort, threading the crowded difficulties of life with humorous plaintiveness, more anxious to make no enemies and to offend no man than to speak the truth and shame the devil. It is a loveable character, and pleasant to sail with over smooth waters. But of such are the immense majority of the men who at this very moment are the prey of the fierce tiger-cats of Camorra and Mafia, and of the less notorious societies of the Comarca and the Adriatic shore. Helpless as they was Pius in the tempest of conflicting beliefs and conflicting duties, helpless as they in the clutches of Antonelli. The storm was gathering as he weighed anchor; when it broke he was perplexed and frightened, and handed over the helm to his pirate skipper.

'It is clear,' writes Mr. Stillman, 'that Pius IX., on assuming power, had no precise conception of his future course. Of extreme benevolence of disposition, and a devout man, the sufferings of the people and the severity of past Governments had no doubt impressed him profoundly, and, believing in the goodness and docility of his subjects, he was disposed to do what lay in him to lessen their troubles. . . .

Ameliorations in the condition of his people he desired, but he intended that they should be conferred as those of a father to his children, and that they should be recognised as free gifts and not made obligatory by any law which should control or seem to control his action. It is needless to describe the demonstrations of devotion and gratitude which marked the first year or two of the Pope's reign. His more conservative advisers foresaw what eventually took place. A people absolutely unused to liberty for centuries, having the door opened which led to self-government, could no more be controlled in their movements than the sea tides. . . . The right of forming associations and clubs and all the paraphernalia of popular liberty came rapidly to the front; the press, for which the utmost freedom was claimed, at first reforming, became satirical and finally subversive; and all the rest of the abuses growing out of liberty presented themselves in rapid succession.'

The Pope's reforms were marred by one constant and complex defect. They were all half-measures, hampered by conditions which nevertheless were not enforced. Exactly a month after his election Pius made his first plunge by issuing an amnesty for political offences on July 16, 1846. But it was conditional on recognition of error and signature of the following formula:

'I recognise the reception of a singular favour in the generous and spontaneous pardon conceded to me by the indulgence of the Supreme Pontiff Pius IX, my legitimate sovereign, for all the part I have taken, in whatever manner, in the attempts which have disturbed public order and attacked the legitimate authority constituted in his temporal dominions. I promise on my word of honour not to abuse in any manner or at any time the sovereign clemency, and I give my pledge to fulfil faithfully all the duties of a good and loyal subject.'

Of the numerous political prisoners and exiles only a handful, among whom were Mamiani and Pepoli, refused to sign. Nevertheless they were allowed to return from their exile, and even before long to hold high office.

In August the nomination of a Liberal Secretary of State was regarded as an earnest of further progress. But who is this Liberal Secretary? It is Cardinal Gizzi, a good and kind old man, of nearly ninety years of age! Not a time of life that promises very rapid progress. Nevertheless, in March 1847, he relaxed the censorship of the press, and on April 14 instituted a Council of State, better known as the 'Consulta,' from which laymen were not necessarily excluded. Yet, in the state of men's minds in 1847, even these slow steps gave general satisfaction, and, on the anniversary of the Pope's election, the populace burst into demonstrations of enthusiasm. But their noisiness was

thought alarming, and six days later was issued an edict forbidding such assemblages. Thenceforward the popularity of cardinals and of 'Consulta' was gone, and the mob began to shout 'Viva Pio Nono solo!'—'Long live Pius IX. only!' The formation of a citizen guard on June 30—an important step towards democracy in all the revolutions of that time—led to Gizzi's resignation.

Meanwhile Metternich saw clearly what must follow, and made a pretext of some local disturbance to occupy Ferrara on July 27. This roused the national sentiment of the Romans, and the irritation which the Pope showed at Austrian interference made him for the time appear to be a champion of Italian independence. The spirit of the moment inspired Mazzini to address to Pius an impassioned appeal to put himself at the head of a movement which should regenerate at once the Papacy and Italy, religion and politics,

'to become, after so many centuries of doubt and corruption, the apostle of eternal truth; to sacrifice himself in order that the will of God might be done in earth as it is in heaven; to ask himself in every difficulty, not "Will the princes of this world disapprove, will their ambassadors present notes and protests?" but "Is this thing just or unjust; true or a lie; the law of man or the law of God?" . . . Unite Italy, your fatherland. We will raise up around you a nation over whose free developement you shall preside. We will found a government unique in Europe, that shall put an end to the absurd divorce between the spiritual and the temporal power. . . . Fear not excesses on the part of the people. The people commit no excesses unless left to their own impulses without a guide whom they venerate. . . . Then, under your flag, would be gained an immense result, at once political and moral, because Italy's new birth under the ægis of a religious idea, under the standard not of rights but of duties, would outstrip all revolutions in foreign lands, and place Italy immediately at the head of European progress, and because it lies in your hands to make these two terms, God and people, too often and too fatally disjoined, arise all at once in fair and holy harmony to direct the fate of the nations.'

Of this letter Mr. King says that it was written 'in too transparent flattery, and was far from expressing Mazzini's permanent feelings.' No doubt the feelings were not permanent, but for the moment they were sincere. It is true that at a later date Mazzini seems to have been ashamed of any symptom of enthusiasm for Pius IX., and of his own misapprehension of the possibilities of the situation, even hinting (in 1856) that the letter had been written with some hidden motive, 'with a different object, which

‘ was attained, but of which there is now no need to speak.’ But on the very same day on which he penned the epistle, September 8, 1847, he writes to Giuseppe Lamberti: ‘ In a moment of expansion and youthful illusion I have written a long letter to Pius IX., pointing out to him what he could and should do; it will be thrown into his carriage within twelve days at the latest.’ Its only effect seems to have been to frighten Pius, who nevertheless continued in his mild reforms. On November 24 was installed the newly organised municipality of Rome, and finally, on December 30, an edict was issued establishing a council of ministers on the modern plan, to be composed of nine heads of departments. But all the nine posts were to be held by ecclesiastics! And this, although the Great Powers had, so long ago as 1831, advised that a share of higher offices should be given to laymen; although Pellegrino Rossi, who enjoyed Pius’s confidence, had urged again and again that the possibility of moderate reform and escape from revolution hinged on this change. This, he said, was ‘ the knot of the question.’ Again half measures, and again the restrictions are thrown overboard under pressure of circumstances. In six weeks’ time Pasolini and Sturbinetti, laymen, are admitted to office. But much had happened in those weeks.

On January 1, 1848, the populace prepared to go in procession to the Quirinal, as a demonstration of gratitude to the Pope for his concessions. But Pius had been annoyed by a petition, presented on December 27, which craved the expulsion of the Jesuits. He had no intention of granting it, and would not appear. Yet he gave way to signs of popular dissatisfaction, and, notwithstanding the previous summer’s prohibition of assemblages, went out on the following day, parading the streets in his carriage, while Ciceruacchio followed him in another, with a placard bearing the words: ‘ Holy Father, justice! The people are with you!’

All the tinder of riot and revolution was there, and seemed only to wait for the spark. Yet when the sparks came, flying fast enough from the risings of Palermo on January 12, of Paris on February 24, and of Vienna on March 13, the tinder did not ignite. The reason seems to have been that the news of each of these conflagrations wrung from the Pope wider liberties, which deferred the fatal hour for some months to come. Thus Palermo was followed by the admission of the laymen Pasolini and Sturbinetti to office; Paris by the formation, on March 10,

of a ministry comprising Farini, Minghetti, Sturbinetti, Pasolini, and others, and by the grant of a constitution on March 14; Vienna, by the decision to send the army to the frontier. Half measures again! The ministry of March 10 was presided over by Cardinal Antonelli. The legislative power of the chambers under the constitution was reduced to a shadow by the control of the College of Cardinals. As for the war policy, it was the outcome of misapprehensions, and led to the most fatal of all the misunderstandings between Pius and his Liberal subjects.

The Nationalist aspirations of the latter, and the Pope's resentment at the Austrian occupation of Ferrara, united in a stream of sufficient force to ensure the despatch of the troops. The Holy Father blessed the flags before their departure. But the aims of the war party, who wished to join Piedmont in expelling the Austrians from Italy, were very divergent from those of Pius, who was only anxious to prevent any encroachment on Papal territory. Accordingly General Durando marched under orders not to cross the frontier, unless to occupy Rovigo, to which place there were some Papal claims of old standing, and when he addressed a proclamation to his troops on April 5, saying 'the Pope ' had blessed their arms, which, united to those of Charles ' Albert, would move in concord with them to the exter- ' mination of the enemies of God and Italy,' Pius took it very ill, and expressed his displeasure in the allocution of April 29. War with Austria he declared to be 'wholly ' abhorrent from the counsels of one who regarded and ' loved with equal affection all peoples, races, and nations.' Such a manifesto at this critical moment could not but alienate the moderate Nationalists, and exasperate the Radicals. It raised a wall of separation between the Pope and all who were working for independence. From that day Pius lost the influence with his own subjects, and with the whole Italian people, which he had gained as the seeming champion of nationality. Yet his previous attitude made it impossible for him to pose with any effect to the Catholic world as 'equally the father of all ' Christians.' When, on May 5, he addressed a letter to the Emperor of Austria, inviting him 'to change into ' useful relations of friendly neighbourhood a domination ' which could not be noble or happy when maintained by ' the sword,' the ill-timed appeal fell upon deaf ears. And now came the nemesis of vacillation. The first orders to Durando had prevented any effective assistance to Piedmont,

but the despatch of the troops irritated Austria, and their subsequent participation in the campaign gave her a pretext, of which she took advantage, to again invade the States of the Church and enter Bologna.

• The natural and immediate consequence of the allocution was the resignation of the ministry of March 10. Then followed the feeble administrations of Mamiani and Fabbri, and, finally, in September, the reins of power were entrusted to Count Pellegrino Rossi, who united in his own person the Treasury and the Ministry of the Interior.

Rossi was not a Roman, having been born at Carrara. At Bologna, where he studied, he followed the profession of the law, until, in 1815, the part which he played in Murat's ambitious designs upon the crown of Italy drove him into exile at Geneva. There he filled the chair of Roman law, took an active part in Swiss politics, and drafted a new federal constitution, which, although not accepted, formed the basis of the constitution as eventually revised. Thence he passed to France, became professor of political economy, and afterwards of constitutional law in the College of France, until M. Guizot sent him as envoy to the Pope in 1845, entrusting him with negotiations for the suppression of the Jesuits in France.

Such had been the distinguished career of the statesman who now took up the difficult, if not impossible, task. Then, as now, the troubles of Italy were fully as much administrative as political, and Rossi at once turned his energies to administrative reform by suppressing the Ministry of Police, and uniting its functions to those of his own office. He was the stamp of man who in different and quieter times might have proved the Stein of Italy. Among his measures were reform of the army; discipline and purification of the public offices; financial reforms so conceived as to gradually curb the power of the ecclesiastics by throwing upon them a fair share of taxation; even a scheme for the relief of the exchequer out of their huge properties; suppression of the sanguinary conflicts between 'Gregorians' and 'Piani,' and the restoration of order in the streets, and extermination of brigandage in the country, by the formation of a numerous corps of gendarmes.

All these things were good in themselves, but almost all were untimely. They only increased the general dislike of Rossi, already aroused by his non-Roman origin, by his former service under Louis Philippe, by the reserve and cold aloofness of his manner, and by the contempt which he

too plainly showed for clerical obscurantists and blatant demagogues alike. He offended vested interests of every kind. His policy in Church matters found few supporters besides the Pope himself, whose personal confidence he enjoyed. His Protestant wife; his earlier works, which were on the Index; his threatening attitude towards ecclesiastical immunities, earned for him the hatred of the Ultramontanes, while the inflexibility of his Liberal-Conservative opinions, and his frank support of the Papacy as 'the one good thing left to Italy,' ensured the hostility of the Radicals. In marked contrast to his predecessors, who had fawned upon the mob, Rossi launched scathing sarcasms at the demagogues, who fancied that, in his efforts to purify and strengthen administration, he was aiming at the restoration of absolutism, and his Jesuit enemies for their own purposes inflamed these suspicions.

There was a general sense that a crisis was approaching when the chambers reopened on November 15. Rossi had been warned that his life was in danger, but his proud courage flinched not. As he descended from his carriage at the entrance of the Palazzo della Cancelleria, he is said to have returned the menacing looks and groans of the crowd with a glance of withering contempt. But, as he was proceeding to mount the staircase, a sudden stab in the throat from an unknown hand laid him low. Thus died foully an aristocrat in soul, a Liberal by conviction, while the mean and jealous deputies within feigned to treat the death of the too superior 'foreigner' as a matter of no consequence. 'What is all this fuss about?' exclaimed the Prince of Canino; 'is it the King of Rome that is dead?' Sturbinetti, the President, proceeded to open the session without the slightest allusion to the tragedy, and the sitting was adjourned only because there was not the necessary quorum of members present.

'Who assassinated Pellegrino Rossi?' was for many years 'a political rather than a criminal question.' The net result of recent researches, the latest of which are subsequent to the publication of any of the three books under review, seems to prove that the hand which struck the blow was the hand of Ciceruacchio's son, Luigi Brunetti; that the murder was planned by several conspirators, of whom Sterbini was probably one, while the number of those who knew of the plot beforehand must have been considerable.

The fatal consequences of this, the vilest—indeed, the only very vile—deed that blots the fair fame of the Liberals

of 1848, were obscured for a time by the shortlived brilliancy of the Republic. The immediate result of the assassination was to throw Pius completely into the power of his most bigoted advisers. On the night of November 24, disguised as a simple priest, he fled to Gaeta, where he put himself under the protection of Ferdinand of Naples. The Pope's flight left Rome entirely in the hands of the Radicals. A constituent assembly was elected, which met on February 5, 1849, and, after four days' debate, decreed the abolition of the temporal power, proclaiming pure democracy as the form of government with 'the glorious name of 'Roman Republic.'

Foreign intervention was, of course, a foregone conclusion. That France, and not Austria, took the decisive action was the result of the vicissitudes of French politics, and of the personality of Louis Napoleon, but the quarter from which intervention came stamped upon the Roman Question the special impress which it bore until the year 1870, and was fraught with infinite consequences for the future of Italy. We cannot follow the fortunes of the Republic during her forlorn struggle with the power of France. But we may ask whether such a form of polity could have permanently satisfied the needs of Rome. Could it have continued to preserve order, to manage the finances honestly, to avoid Jacobin excesses? Who shall say? We only know that the defence was heroic. The Rome of Mazzini and Garibaldi was not unworthy in her fall of the Rome of the Scipios and the Gracchi,

'her soldiers fighting to the last extremity, her people vying with each other in maintaining the glorious but unequal struggle, her rulers firmly rejecting every dishonourable compromise or proposal, and as firmly declaring that Italians, and Italians only, had a right to decide what should or should not be the government under which they would live. Assuredly such men are rightly held to have deserved well of their country.'

Space forbids us to touch upon the events of 1848 in Tuscany or the minor States. With greater reluctance we must turn away from the Sicilian Revolution, which derives a certain incidental interest for us, at the end of the century, from the fact that one of its chief organisers, Francesco Crispi, still lives. It was there, in his native island, and at that time, that Crispi's strong individuality began to affect the course of the fortunes of Italy.

The first rising to break out, and perhaps with the most adequate cause, was that of Palermo on January 12. It was

the spark which set half Europe ablaze. Had the British Government, which fully sympathised with the Sicilians, been willing to risk a single ship, instead of confining itself to purely platonic friendship, Sicily might then have permanently won her liberty and her independence. That she did not was well for Italy, which would now have lacked the most precious jewel in her crown. Whether it was equally well for Sicily is open to grave doubt.

Long after the stubborn islanders had succumbed to the royal forces, and for nearly two months after the fall of Rome, the flag of Italian freedom still floated over Venice. ' Venice, the pauperised,' to quote Mr. King, ' Venice, the careless, the self-indulgent, had redeemed herself by a defence of patient heroism, that won for her the admiration of Europe.' She owed her hour of strength to one great man. To-day the name of Daniele Manin is not, even in Italy, so universally familiar as those of some other heroes of the revolution. His career was short, his stage less conspicuous, his opportunities limited. Nevertheless he towers head and shoulders above all the men of '48 for singleness of aim, for daring courage of purpose and execution, for the winning but fearless frankness, which rouses and sways a fickle multitude, yet remains its master. ' I know that you love me,' he once told those Venetians who knew him as their ' father,' ' I know that you love me, and by that love I command order.' For disorder he had ' an instinctive repulsion, as for a discord or a deformed face.' Without the egotism and intolerance of Mazzini, full of the practical wisdom that was lacking to Garibaldi, endowed with more popular gifts, more power to stir the enthusiasm of the masses than Cavour, he had, in Mr. King's words, ' the rarest gifts of statesmanship; he had all Cavour's breadth and accessibility to facts; his conceptions were as bold, his economic view, his standard of morality higher. Cavour might sway people by their reason, Manin could touch their hearts.'

Of course Manin was by preference a Republican. What traditions, what force of habit, what associations could turn his thoughts towards monarchy? For what dynasty could he feel the dimmest spark of sentiment? Most of Italy had for centuries been accustomed to the sway of a monarch. Even Tuscany could take pride of a kind in the splendour of her Medicean days, and appreciate the comforts she enjoyed under the mild Lorrainer rule; Genoa herself might forget her independence in a union to the one patriotic Italian

State, but how could a Venetian Nationalist be anything but a Republican at heart? We might as well search for Legitimists at Chicago, or seek enthusiasm for parliamentary institutions among the Cossacks of the Don.

Yet Manin was a statesman as well as a patriot. He clearly saw the great political truth that all forms of government are but means to an end, τοῦ εὖ ζῆν ἕνεκα—a truth that the scales of party blindness have too often concealed from Legitimist and Radical alike—and with that judicious opportunism which sacrifices the form to gain the substance, he lived to ‘accept the monarchy of the House of Savoy, provided that it concurred loyally and efficaciously to make Italy.’ ‘Make Italy,’ he wrote from his Parisian exile to Pallavicino, ‘and we are with you. If not, not.’ Italy, he recognised, had ‘two living forces—Italian public opinion and the Piedmontese army.’

On the 28th of May, 1856, there appeared in the ‘Times’ the famous letter in which Manin denounced the ‘theory of the dagger.’

‘There is one great enemy of Italy,’ he wrote, ‘which the national party must contend against without rest or pause as without mercy, and in that contest it will be supported and seconded by the approbation and applause of the whole of civilised Europe. This great enemy of Italy is the doctrine of political assassination, or, in other terms, the *theory of the poniard*.

‘I will not stop to discuss the morality of the question. I know that there are acute dialecticians who will undertake its defence, and among others, and above all others eminent for the exuberance of their zeal, of their acuteness and their doctrine, the reverend fathers the Jesuits. But I also know, and as a political man this suffices for me, that the feelings of every honest man in Italy and abroad reject, reprove, and abominate such a doctrine, the doctrine of destroying human life by acts of treachery, at any time, in any place, and for any motive whatever.

‘The great national party in Italy invites to itself, and hopes to draw to it, the whole of its people who really love their country, and especially the most judicious, the most worthy, and the most respected for the unstained honour of their lives. But these men will never answer to that appeal unless the national party separate itself solemnly, absolutely, and irrevocably from assassins. That absolute separation is necessary to conciliate the sympathies of Europe, and to gain our national cause the respect, the veneration, and the affection which it merits. . . . Our hands must be without stain. Let our purity from crime be the mark which shall distinguish the noble defenders of our country from the suicidal instruments of the enemies of all law. Ours shall be the honourable weapons which become noble and truly

courageous men, and our duty is to profess and to propagate the doctrines of pure and indisputable morality.

‘Let the theory of assassination be left to the Jesuits, and let us abandon the poniard to the Sanfedisti.’

Although the letter contains no reference, direct or indirect, to Mazzini, it was nevertheless bitterly resented by him, and he replied in terms of much acerbity. We recommend a comparison of the rhetorical egotism of his reply with the genuine patriotism of Manin’s language to all who would judge between the two men.

The majority of Republicans had come to consider Mazzini impracticable, as, indeed, he was after 1849, and followed Manin in accepting the programme of union under a Nationalist king.

Of a delicate constitution, Manin did not live to see Italy united, or Venice free. He died in Paris on September 22, 1857, ‘leaving behind him a name as spotless, both in public and private life, as any which adorns the pages either of ancient or of modern history.’

Neither the revolutionary turmoil of 1848 nor its ultimate defeat by the forces of reaction was confined to Italy. Yet the Italian Liberals paid the heaviest penalty for failure, and that not through any greater faults of their own; for, although they shared to the full the weaknesses and defects which led to the same result in other lands, it is in them that the nobler side of the cataclysmic upheaval is most clearly manifested. For it had its nobler aspect, at any rate in Italy, an aspect which has not failed to earn our historian’s just appreciation :

‘Though it fell so short in grip and power, the spirit that made and spoilt the revolution had a very beautiful and noble side. The sentimentalism had for its obverse an enthusiasm and faith, sweet and pure and human, that set its trust in righteousness, that refused to bate one jot of its high ideals, that sent men to war with the crusader’s badge, to rush on Austrian or French bayonets with a prayer on their lips, glad to give their lives for Italy.’

ART. VI.—1. *Mission en Cappadoce*, 1893–94. By E. CHANTRE. Paris: 1898.

2. *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien*. By K. HUMANN and O. PUCHSTEIN. Berlin: 1890.

3. *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*. Edited by H. V. HILPRECHT. Vol. I., parts i. and ii. Philadelphia: 1893, 1896.

ONE of the most remarkable results of recent exploration in Western Asia has been the discovery that, from the earliest ages, the influence of Babylonian civilisation extended far west into Syria and Asia Minor, preceding in these regions by many centuries the temporary influence of Egypt. The excavations conducted by M. Chantre in Cappadocia have produced tablets, seals, votive figures, pottery, &c., in abundance, casting much new light on this matter; and, though he had many predecessors in exploration of this region, his results are among the most important obtained since the recovery of the Amarna tablets in 1887, and the German excavations at Samalla in North Syria. The history of Greek civilisation, not less than that of the Hebrews, is profoundly affected by these discoveries; and the influence of Chaldea must be recognised, not only in Palestine, but also in Ionia, where the so-called Mycenæan or Ægean art appears to have sprung from an Asiatic source.

Without forgetting our obligations to Texier, Perrot, Ramsay, Wilson, Hogarth, Humann, Puchstein, Davis, and others, it may be predicted that the name of M. Chantre will stand high in the list of successful explorers in this region. He has travelled widely in Syria, Armenia, and Asia Minor, from the Caucasus to the Ægean; and the mission with which he was entrusted by the French Government in 1893 was most successful. Wherever he has gone his diligence has secured a considerable harvest. He is an ethnologist and naturalist, rather than one of the modern school of professional (and often too narrow and dogmatic) archaeologists; and though he possesses only a general knowledge of antiquity, and is obliged to submit his results to specialists for explanations (sometimes more pretentious than sound), the good sense of his personal—and very modest—conclusions is as remarkable as his energy in travel and his diligence in collecting genuine records.

The discoveries and explorations of M. Chantre represent

Cappadocian civilisation from at least 2500 B.C. down to the time of Justinian. They include the ancient texts and sculptures which he, like others, compares with those of Chaldea, the early Aryan remains, the Persian, the Greek, and the Roman. Broadly speaking, the history of this region began with colonisation by Mongols, related to the first civilised race of Mesopotamia, which is usually known as Akkadian. About 850 B.C. the Medes and Scythians—whom Sir H. Rawlinson has shown to have been Aryans*—displaced these older rulers in the East; while the Ionians, Phrygians, and Lydians, who were also Aryans, pressed in from the shores of the Hellespont till, in the sixth century B.C., Cræsus ruined the cities of the older civilised tribes.† The Semitic Babylonians were known in Cappadocia at least as early as 2000 B.C. in the character of traders, and the Assyrians invaded Cilicia and drove the Mongols to the North in the ninth century B.C. Cyrus and his successors, following the Medes from the East, established the Persian sway in Asia Minor in the sixth century B.C., and the Greeks, mingling first with Phrygians (from whom, according to Herodotus, the Armenians were descended) and with other Asiatic Aryans who had preceded them from Europe, displaced the Persian rulers after the conquests of Alexander the Great in 334 B.C. Perso-Greek civilisation continued to prevail, under Roman and Byzantine emperors, until the time of Turkish conquest by Alp Arslan (1063 A.D.), which resulted in the permanent settlement of a Turkish population in Asia Minor, in spite of the Greeks and Armenians who profited by the Crusades. The Seljuks have left many important remains in this region, as have the early Ottomans, after the transient victory of the Mongols under Timur. We have thus to consider in turn—first, the period vaguely called ‘Pre-Hellenic,’ ‘Proto-Armenian,’ or ‘Syro-Asiatic’ by various writers, which might better be defined as Kassite or Akkadian; second, the appearance of Semitic traders from Babylon; third, the inroads of the Assyrians; fourth, the establishment of the Aryans; fifth, the Persian conquest; sixth, the Greek domination; and after these the rule of the Romans and of the Turks. Cappadocia shared the same history, better known in other regions. It was on the southern highway to Ionia from Syria, and along its north

* Herodotus, 3rd edit. vol. iii. pp. 190, 702; vol. i. p. 202.

† Ibid. i. 76.

border ran the route which led from Europe to Armenia, by which Phrygians and Armenians advanced eastwards before the time of Herodotus.

Boghaz Keui ('town of the defile') is an ancient site east of the Halys, on the borders of Pontus, which is usually supposed to represent the Pterium of Herodotus.* Texier and others had discovered, very early, at and near this site, the remains of a very old civilisation. This has long been recognised as being the same found all over Asia Minor, North Syria, and even in Assyria, and it has been called 'Hittite,' much as we might call the English race 'Kentish,' because it is also represented in the ruins of Carchemish, Merash, Aleppo, and Hamath, or in the region where, according to the Assyrian and Egyptian records, the Hittites lived between 1700 and 700 B.C. But no previous explorer had recovered any texts in the peculiar script of this race before M. Chantre at this particular site; and to these he has added the remarkable tablets in a non-Semitic language, which Colonel Conder has recently translated,† and which are written in the familiar characters which represent the cuneiform of the twelfth century B.C. or later. These letters and reports represent the political and social conditions of this early Cappadocian race at the time when they were resisting the inroads of the Assyrians who, in the twelfth century B.C., conquered the tribes of Syria and Southern Armenia under Tiglath Pileser I., and about 832 B.C. advanced across the Amanus under Shalmaneser II., and, driving the Mongols to their northern plateaux, extended their sway in Cilicia as far as Tarsus. For the purpose of writing letters it appears, therefore, that the Kati tribes had then abandoned their original script in favour of cuneiform, and we have two seals much older, on which the so-called 'Hittite' characters stand side by side with Semitic texts in cuneiform. We know also, from two letters in the Amarna collection,‡ that both the Hittites and the Mongols of Matiene (or Armenia) used cuneiform in the fifteenth century B.C.; and as the alphabet had come into use in Syria at least before 800 B.C. (as shown by texts well dated found by the Germans at Samalla), it is only natural to conclude with M. Chantre, who believes the Hittite texts to have been written between 2500 and 2000 B.C., that these inscriptions and the archaic bas-reliefs which

* Herodotus, i. 75.

† 'Times,' October 10, 1899.

‡ Nos. 10 and 27, Berlin Collection.

they accompany represent an ancient system which was gradually superseded by more widely used scripts before about 1500 B.C., and an art which can only be compared with that of the earliest Mongol race of Chaldea, and which is too rude in character to be placed as late as the more advanced work of the Assyrians, represented by the monuments of Nineveh.

We learn, then, that the Kati were a people ruled by kings or princes, possessing fortified towns, making use of auguries to decide their warlike designs; and also trading from at least 2000 B.C., and down to the eighth century B.C., with the Semitic Babylonian merchants, who travelled among them. In language, customs, physical type, dress, and religion they are indistinguishable from their relatives in Syria and Armenia, who were called Minni, Hittites, Kaska, &c. These tribes—all of one race—allied themselves for resistance against Assyria, but appear to have then had no central supreme authority. Their religious system, and the symbolism by which it was expressed, are the same found among the Akkadians and Kassites in Babylonia; and the names even of the gods were the same, as may be seen in the attached list, taken from various notices of divine names in cuneiform and other texts:—

<i>Deity</i>	<i>Hittite</i>	<i>Kassite</i>	<i>Akkadian</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
Heaven	Tarku	Turgu .	Tarum	'High'
Earth	Ma		Ma	'Earth'
Sun	Uru	Urus	Eri	'Shining'
Moon	Iskhara		Iskhara	'Light maker'
Water	Zovo	Suvu		'Stream'
Fire	Set		Sit	'Fire'
Air	Tessub	Tessub		'Moisture'?

What is here seen to apply to the names of gods applies to many other known words as well, which have been found to connect the language of the early inhabitants of Syria and Asia Minor with that of the Kassites and Akkadians of Mesopotamia.

Close to Pterium, on the east, is the wonderful rock temple of Iasili Kaia ('carved stone'), with its great procession of figures approaching the two supreme deities of heaven and earth—the former, male, and standing on the shoulders of men; the latter, female, and erect on a lion—as Ma, the 'earth' goddess of Cappadocia, was represented much later. Behind her is the sun-god, also on a lion, and two smaller goddesses, borne aloft by the two-headed eagle—a peculiarly Mongol emblem. The northern procession of

forty-one figures behind the male deity consists mainly of men—priests, kings, warriors, and citizens—the southern approaching the goddess, of seventeen females. In other bas-reliefs strange lion-headed figures occur at this shrine, and a few emblems in the national script define the civilisation to which these early sculptures belong. The Assyrians were fond of representing their gods standing erect on lions in similar manner (as at Samalla, Bavian, &c.); but these representations are in a much later style, and accompanied by cuneiform texts. The excavations of M. Chantre at this site produced only rude fragments of pottery, and bones of domestic animals; but these probably represent ancient sacrifices at this early temple.

At Eyuk, a little further north, our explorer examined a temple of peculiar interest, and proved, by the recovery of a few 'Hittite' signs, that it belonged—as has always been supposed—to the same class of antiquities. The temple gate is flanked by two colossal sphinxes, somewhat Egyptian in character—but it must be remembered that the sphinx is also found in Babylonia—and on the side of one of these the two-headed eagle is again carved. The bas-reliefs on the walls represent again a procession approaching an altar, and bringing sheep and goats for sacrifice. Here, and elsewhere in similar pictures, the priest holds a lituus like that of the Roman augurs, while kings are distinguished by a sort of club sceptre, which is noticed among the Hittites in both Egyptian and Assyrian accounts of wars in Syria.

M. Chantre also added a new instance of this class of design, in the sculpture found at Fraktin, west of Comana, in southern Cappadocia. In this case—as at Pterium—a small temple is represented behind, or above, the figures. Fraktin M. Chantre identifies with the Dastarkon of Strabo; and the name may mean 'the pass of Mt. Arge,' the site being on the river Sarus, S.E. of that remarkable extinct volcano. A seated king or god is here represented, with a cup in his hand, and before him is an altar, on which an eagle perches. A priest faces this figure, and stands pouring a libation; behind him are other figures of warriors, and seven 'Hittite' emblems form a short text above. The eagle resembles a bird on the rude bas-relief of Merâsh, in Syria, which represents the mother goddess and her child. In this instance it is perched on what looks like a harp—but might even be a cage—and the altar again occurs, while the deity holds a club sceptre. Jupiter, it

would thus seem, was by no means the first deity to be accompanied by this royal bird, which also occurs on bronze *ex votos* found by M. Chantre. The great goddess of Cappadocia was still known by her old name, Ma, down to Roman times; Comana ('the place of Ma') and Mazaca ('Ma's shrine') were the old names of Shar and Cæsarea in this region.

Evidence of the early appearance of Babylonian traders in Cappadocia had already been collected, by the discovery of tablets relating to commercial transactions; and to this collection M. Chantre adds sixteen new instances. They are all written in the Semitic language of Babylonia, and in cuneiform characters, which must have been penned about 2000 B.C. They are not as early as the linear forms of Chaldea in 2800 B.C., and they are older than those in use about 1000 B.C. These letters have for the most part been roughly translated by Scheil; and an earlier example was shown, by Mr. T. G. Pinches, to refer to the purchase by Babylonians of horses and mules, for which Armenia has always been celebrated. Altogether some fifty examples of this remarkable correspondence are now known, and Mr. Pinches believes that this region was known as *Cusa* or *Cush*,* which again connects the native race with the Cushites of Babylonia.† Even the name of the father of the earliest Chaldean King of Ur, found in a text at Nippur by the American explorers, may likewise be rendered *Cush*; and, if it were advisable to give a new title to this Mongol race, they might well be called Cushites.

These tablets relate to the loan of silver, at the rate of about 20 per cent. per annum, and to the purchase of native products, including cloths or robes (such as the Assyrian kings specially mention in their Syrian and Cappadocian spoil lists), leather (*galid*), silver (from the Taurus mines), and tin (though some read lead); the cloths were in some instances dyed blue, in others they appear to have been 'hand-worked' in embroidery, such as is represented on royal robes in some of the Hittite sculptures. The patterns have even survived to the present day among the Turkish peasantry of Asia Minor, whose carpet-making is as famous as in the days of St. Paul. Colonel Conder has given, in the 'Times,' a translation of one of the longest of these letters, written by a Semitic trader, who inquires whether he is likely to be well treated by the native race, and to

* Gen. ii. 13. Akkadian *Cu-sa*, 'the west.'

† Gen. x 7.

make profits by trade, in spite of the cost of obtaining permission to enter the country. This represents much earlier conditions than those of the period when, as above explained, the Kati were struggling against the encroachments of Assyria. Probably also fresh light on ancient measures of weight may be gained from these tablets, and in one case the 'Manah of the West' seems to be noticed as being a fifth more than the Babylonian. Both in Babylonia and in Syria there was a double system of weights, one being half the other; and the Hebrew shekel was a fifth heavier (in both standards) than the Babylonian. The Phœnician weights preserved this difference in the sixth century B.C., but it is now shown to have distinguished East and West as early as 2000 B.C.

Among other remains * M. Chantre collected pottery and *ex voto* figures of bronze, and in one case of gold. It is always difficult to determine the date of any pottery not marked by inscriptions within very wide limits. Ancient methods long survived, and the rough work intended for the poor is often quite as recent as the more costly and better wrought. Some of the pottery found is probably of Kati origin, some appears to be Greek. It often closely resembles that found by Schliemann at Troy and Mycenæ, and may in these cases have been purchased by the illiterate Aryans from the East. The art of Mycenæ generally is distinctively Asiatic, and the actual objects of gold found by the celebrated discoverer of Troy tally most closely with the descriptions given in Dusratta's lists of the jewellery and other treasures sent from Armenia as the dower of his daughter when she married Amenophis IV. in the fifteenth century B.C.† But in time the Greeks greatly improved on the models furnished by the art of Asia Minor, and their pottery became highly prized. Some of the pottery in Cyprus, which has been described as Phœnician, and which resembles that of Cappadocia, is now known to be Greek from the inscriptions, which have been read.

* One of M. Chantre's tablets is written in a character closely approaching Cypriotic, and apparently representing the latest known 'Hittite.' Some sixty emblems are repeated, and the text is thirty-nine lines long. This is the first known instance of a Hittite tablet in native characters on brick, and it is probably at least as old as 2000 B.C. It appears to record conquests in this region by Tarkontimme, of Gozan, a king already known from a cuneiform text, found on a rock sculpture near Caesarea in Cappadocia, representing his victory. See 'Times,' October 24, 1899.

† See Amarna letters, Nos. 25 and 26, Berlin Collection.

The custom of suspending small metal figures in the temples as *ex votos*, or of burying figures of the gods under the foundations of temples and palaces, or of placing them in tombs as amulets, is of remote antiquity and common to many races. But most of the figures found by M. Chantre are distinguished by the peculiar costume worn by the Hittites, Kati, and other tribes of the same race, and though not inscribed they may safely be classed as of Mongol origin. Most of the human male figures are beardless. Some wear the horned headdress found on Hittite as well as on Assyrian representations of gods. The female figures recall those of Etruria and Cyprus, as well as of Babylonia. One of the most remarkable represents a man riding what looks like a mule and holding a hawk, but horses are clearly represented in other cases, as is also the falcon used (as it still is by Arabs) to hunt gazelles or deer in conjunction with hounds. The bird is shown perched on the deer's head, and is still trained thus to hinder its flight from the dogs. One remarkable design, perhaps the top of a standard, shows a man struggling with what M. Chantre supposes to be a horse, but which perhaps (on account of the paws and tail) is, in spite of its long neck, meant to be a lion, recalling the common group of the hero and lion, which is found in Babylonia centuries before Greek representations of the Nemean victory.

It has long been known that the Egyptians, after their conquest of Syria about 1600 B.C., extended their influence to Cilicia. The land of Alasiya or Elishah, noticed in the Amarna letters, appears to have been near Tarsus. It was reached in ships from Egypt in the fifteenth century B.C., and copper was thence imported. The cartouche of Rameses II. is said to have been cut on the famous statue of Ma at Mount Sipylos, far west in Lydia (though this is disputed), and M. Chantre has found in Cappadocia two Egyptian scarabæi and two small figures which in attitude and dress are distinctively Egyptian. He also found a signet on which is represented a woman (whom he calls an Eve) seated by a tree with a serpent behind it, recalling a famous Babylonian design which represents both a man and a woman (or a god and goddess) plucking the fruit of the palm with a serpent rising behind the woman. In this and many other instances it seems clear that Babylonian legends were of Mongol rather than of Semitic origin.

The existence of three civilisations, native, Babylonian, and Egyptian, in Cappadocia before 1000 B.C. has thus been

proved, but the Aryans do not as yet appear on the scene. That the native race was the same to which the Hittites of Syria belonged may be considered as now generally acknowledged by scholars. That they were of the same Mongol race found in Chaldea there is every reason to believe. Their language was certainly not Semitic, nor does it appear to have been Aryan. All the best established words found in personal names or otherwise recognised are of Mongol, and even more particularly of Turkish type, and show no resemblance to the Aryan vocabularies; and it is evident that if Hittite inscriptions in a known character (the cuneiform) can be read so as to make sense in the Akkadian or Kassite language, they cannot be Aryan, for the whole genius and idiom, the grammar and phonology of these dialects, are entirely irreconcilable with the features of Aryan inflected speech. Dr. Sayce has therefore been right in connecting the new Kati texts with the language of Mitanni (Matiene), of which we have an example in Dusratta's great letter of 500 lines,* and in calling the Hittites Mongols, though he has not translated their texts. Sir H. Rawlinson devotes several valuable notes, in the standard edition of Herodotus, to the nationalities of Western Asia. He shows the Medes and Scythians on the one hand, the Lydians and Phrygians on the other, to have been Aryans; but he classes the early inhabitants of Asia Minor and Armenia, Cappadocians, Moschi, Tablai, Alarodians, &c., as Turanians, that is to say, Mongols, with the Akkadians, Sumerians, and Kassites. Recent discovery has confirmed his conclusions, which have been accepted by all those who have given special study to the question. He states that the Etruscans, who emigrated early from Lydia,† were not Aryans, and Dr. Isaac Taylor has shown in a special work, by study of their numerals and of other known Etruscan words, that they too in Italy belonged to the same race with the Kati, who survived until finally overthrown by Croesus and by the Scythian invaders soon after the Mongols of Eastern Armenia had been destroyed by the Assyrians and superseded by the Medes.

The earliest evidence of the existence of the Western Aryans in Asia Minor is found in the so-called Phrygian inscriptions, of which there are very few. M. Chantre has

* Amarna tablets, No. 27, Berlin Collection.

† Herod. i. 94.

added two fine examples of this language, which is written in an early alphabet akin to the Greek, and which has been thought to date back as far as 800 B.C., though this date is perhaps somewhat too early. He publishes a learned treatise by De Saussure on these texts, but the writer does not attempt to read them. The Phrygians were European Aryans, and the texts found in Phrygia may probably be theirs, though the name does not appear to be recognisable in any known case. There can be no real doubt, when the terminations and other indications of grammar are considered that this dialect is Aryan, and closely connected with—though also distinct from—Greek. In the new examples the name of the Ionians may perhaps be read, and they appear to be mortuary texts set up by the sons or other relatives of the person in whose honour they were carved.*

Intermediate between the period of conquest by Gyges and Croesus and the later age of Alexander, comes that of domination by the Medes and Persians, of which there are many known remains in Asia Minor. M. Chantre has published a number of Persian cuneiform tablets, which have been regarded (for various reasons) as forgeries,† but which may still prove to be genuine. The name Darius, and other well-known words, are clearly legible, and a fine seal from the same region ‡ has been published, which shows the same characters, with the well-known Persian name *Mithradata*. Why Dr. Sayce regarded this first as ‘Hittite,’ and then as a forgery, is not clear. The work in the design is far too delicate and original to be the production of a modern forger. But we do not depend on this evidence alone; for the coins of the later Perso-Greek age, when, after the great defeat of Persia at Issus, Greek population swarmed over into Asia, are found in Cappadocia, while further west the Lycian language, written in a distinctive alphabet, was early recognised by Grotefend and Rawlinson as connected

* No. 1 may be read, ‘Vasthus the great man, by race an Ionian, akin to Zeus.’ No. 2, ‘To Otos, son of Vetes, who was born a citizen of the Ionian city Antioch in Asia, this his sons have inscribed.’

† With one exception these tablets appear legible in Persian, though not translated in M. Chantre’s volume. Three of them appear to be letters, in the name of ‘Darius, King of Kings, son of Hystaspes,’ appointing provincial governors; a fourth, also of official character, may prove to be from an Antiochus.

‡ Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, November 2, 1897, p. 301.

with Persian,* and it appears to represent the speech of the Medes who, under the elder Harpagus, took Xanthus in 545 B.C.,† the extant texts however being a century and a half later than this date. In Cappadocia the Medes appeared as early as 650 B.C., when King Pharnaspes is mentioned, who married Atossa, sister of Cambyses, the great-grandfather of Cyrus. Strabo mentions Persian gods (*Vahman* and *Amendat* and *Anahita*) in Cappadocia, and the later calendar of this region gives Persian month names. Probably the small bronzes found by M. Chantre, which represent the Indian humped ox, may belong to this age; and near Cæsarea (Mazaca) he collected a great number of coins—both silver and bronze—including, besides those of Antiochus Euergetes, Ormisdas and Tigranes, others of Ariarattes III. and Ariobarzanes I. Such Persian names of the pre-Roman period are very distinct in character from those of the earlier Kati, which recall no Aryan known names at all.

We may glance for a moment at the later Greek and Roman remains of the region, beyond which period M. Chantre's researches do not extend, though the beautiful early Ottoman buildings in Persian style, which Mr. Hogarth has described, show us at a much later period the Mongol Turk restored to power, yet borrowing his civilisation from the Aryans who had, in old days, learned all they knew from his true ancestors the Kati, and from the Phœnicians, long before they came into contact with Babylonia—the old home of both Kati and Phœnician culture. The art of Mycenæ and Ægina was Asiatic, and the Greeks of the latter island city used the same weights which were used in Babylon. But when the current turned again east, and the generals of Alexander set up petty kingdoms in Asia Minor, it was Persian rather than Babylonian civilisation which they encountered. After Eumenes had reigned a few years in Cappadocia a dynasty of Persians, descended from the royal family, succeeded, and lasted from Ariarattes III. for more than two centuries, until the kingdom of Armenia was established by Tigranes, son-in-law of the great Mithridates of Pontus. Thus until Pompey's conquest in 65 B.C., Cappadocia, like Pontus, was more Persian than Greek in culture; and these kings quite possibly continued to use

* See the study of this language in the 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' October 1892.

† Herod. i. 176.

Persian cuneiform, side by side with the Greek lettering of their coins; for in Babylon the old characters were still employed even after the Christian era. The seal above mentioned might be that of the celebrated Mithridates IV. of Pontus;* and some of the tablets found by M. Chantre may belong to this same period—the fourth and down to the first centuries B.C.

The most remarkable monument of this mingled Greco-Persian style is however found rather further east, at Nimrûd Dagħ, above Samosata, near the Euphrates in Armenia. The huge statues built up of masonry, with well-carved heads—the heads alone being six feet high—are Persian in character. The accompanying bas-reliefs are partly Persian, partly in ill-copied Greek style. The Antiochus of Commagene, who built this shrine shortly before Pompey's conquest, calls himself a 'lover of Greece,' and writes his long inscriptions in Greek. His family was an offshoot of the great house of Seleucus; but among the gods whom he invokes in Greek speech are Ahura-mazda and Mithra of Persia, whom he worshipped side by side with Zeus.

The Romans in Western Asia generally, accepted the Greek civilisation which preceded them. The language of literature and of trade alike was Greek, and the number of Latin inscriptions is very small as compared with the Greek official, religious, or funerary texts of the Roman age in Asia Minor or in Syria. Roman architecture equally borrows from Greek in these regions, and the origin of the division of the Roman Empire is found in the essentially Greek character which the Asiatic provinces maintained. But the various elements of population were, as we have seen, numerous, and the old worship of Ma continued in Roman times. Strabo describes her sanctuary at Comana in Cappadocia, and the institution of the 'temple girls,' which was probably of Mongol origin—a peculiar morality common among Turanian races and still existing in Japan, of which we read not only in Babylonia and Phœnicia, but also in Lydia† and Etruria.

As time went on new elements of race appeared among the early Christians (of whom a few texts are found in Phrygia, besides many that are doubtful) and the Jews, of whom also inscriptions in Greek have been discovered by

* About 240–190 B.C. The text reads probably *Mithradata Gtrtu*, 'Mithridates the Fourth.'

† Herod. xii. 13.

Ramsay. The inscription of Asbolus (Yashub-el), who left money for 'burning the *papoi* on the customary day,' belongs to about the third century A.D. The name is Jewish, and Asbolus belonged to a guild of dyers—a common Jewish trade. The 'papai' were perhaps 'woollen' objects burnt at the tomb—a custom still preserved by Jews in the East; and the supposed allusion in this and in other texts of this region to Christian societies appears to be unfounded, though there is no doubt of the very early spread of Christianity in Cappadocia, Phrygia, and Pontus.

The Semitic race existed, as we have seen, in Cappadocia by 2000 B.C. In the fifteenth century B.C. the Princes of Elishah (or Cilicia) wrote to Egypt in a Semitic dialect. The coins of Tarsus at a later period bear Phœnician texts, and the same race is believed by Renan and others to have still existed in this south part of Asia Minor in the days of the Apostles. This, it may be noted, casts a remarkable light on a passage in the New Testament* which has not so far been explained. At Lystra, north-west of Tarsus, the natives, who took the Apostles for gods, called Barnabas 'Dios,' and Paul 'Hermes,' in the 'speech of Lycaonia.' They apparently misunderstood the Apostles' names, and rendered the first *Bar-Nebo*, 'son of the god Nebo,' while Paul became *Bul*—the name of a Phœnician deity which frequently occurs on Palmyrene texts of the same century. The population of these regions—Semitic, Aryan, and Mongol—Jews, Greeks, Persians, and aborigines, was as mixed in Paul's time as it is now, when the Aryan Greeks and Armenians live among Jews, Turks, Tartars, and Mongol Lazis from the Caucasus, as described by M. Chantre.

The latest ruins which this explorer describes belong to the Roman age, including the fine baths of Saravena—probably of Justinian's time—and the earlier temples, palaces, and theatres of Comana. It may be noted in passing that some of the smaller buildings, which he calls temples, are clearly family tombs, such as are found also in Syria with texts showing them to have been erected during the life of the owner.† M. Chantre himself found funerary texts in the examples which he describes, one erected by the senate and people of Cæsarea Hieropolis (the older Mazaca), to Marcus Ulpus Valerius Cornelius, and another for himself and his wife Euphemia, by a certain Eutyches. Both

* Acts xiv. 12.

† See 'Edinburgh Review,' No. 371, January 1895, p. 216.

of these are in Greek, though the name in the first case is Roman.

Our author's conclusions from his evidence are sensible, if not as definite as the translations of the Kati texts allow. He supposes the 'Hittite' monuments to be older than Jensen and others have thought, and to belong to an age earlier than that of the Egyptian conquest of Syria (about 1600 B.C.). He concludes that this race came from the East, and even suggests that Sargon of Ur was their leader. This, of course, is speculative, as we do not know exactly how far Sargon I. pushed his conquests, though he is said to have reached the Mediterranean. The later Babylonians believed him to have lived about 3800 B.C., and he probably belonged to the Akkadian race. By about 2000 B.C. he was deified, and is mentioned as a god on Semitic seals, and bricks, and bas-reliefs of that age. M. Chantre quotes the opinion of Col. Conder that this race was of Mongol stock, and attributes to Dr. Sayce the discovery that they were not Semitic, which had, however, been shown as early as 1866 by Chabas. He considers the peculiar type of their features to be still observable in Armenia, which is only natural as, in addition to the Turkish peasantry, he himself speaks of the Lazis and other Tartars whom he met. The Armenians themselves have probably a strong infusion of the old Mongol blood in their veins, which accounts for their using the Turkish instead of the Armenian language. There is much evidence on this question which he does not mention, and the symbolism of the monuments, the physical type and dress of the figures on bas-reliefs and seals, the language, and the history, alike clearly connect the aboriginal civilisation of Cappadocia with that of the Kassites and Akkadians. The evidence is constantly increasing, and even since the publication of Col. Conder's recent work on the subject* several new texts have been published, including a fine cylinder signet of very Babylonian design but with a very clear Hittite inscription. It represents (as do others) the sacrifice of a king by a stream, while a pillar has been erected behind the worshipper. Another bas-relief, from near Malatiya in Armenia, again gives a picture of sacrifice by two persons, with a text in three lines. Thus, including the new discoveries of M. Chantre, we possess some forty texts of various lengths, and upwards of fifty seals, with Hittite inscriptions. They occur as far east as Nineveh, and as far west as the

* *The Hittites and their Language.* London: Blackwood, 1898.

shores of the *Ægean*; as far north as Pontus (where also Ma was worshipped, according to Strabo), and as far south as Hamath and perhaps Damascus. In the ruins of Lachish, west of Hebron, a Hittite seal has been found in connexion with others of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty, reminding us that, in the days of Amraphel and Abraham (or about 2100 B.C. at latest) there was a Hittite settlement among the Amorites of Hebron (Gen. xxiii. 3).

Something has already been said of the symbolism of these very ancient monuments, which is practically the same found in Babylonia. Besides the eagle, the sphinx, and the lion-headed god, with the deities standing on lions, we find the winged Sun commonly shown on these bas-reliefs. At Ibreez in Lycaonia we have a gigantic deity, holding corn and grapes in his hands, and wearing a cap with horns—as on the *ex votos* above mentioned—which recalls the representation of Bel in Assyria. The Hittites were also fond of introducing winged figures; and the naked Istar holding her breasts (a common Babylonian figure) is represented at Carchemish with wings. Representations of Ma, the ‘Earth Mother,’ occur at Merash, where she holds the infant Sun-god on her knees, at Eyyuk, and far away west at Mount Sipylos. In all cases the gods seem to be represented as much larger than their human worshippers.

The physical type represented is similar to that of the Akkadians, as found at Tell Loh, and it recalls the Etruscan. Dr. Isaac Taylor points out the Mongol character of Etruscan faces and figures. Dr. Birch said the same twenty years ago of the Hittites. The prominent nose, receding forehead and chin, beardless face, and slanting eyes recall the pure Tartar type of to-day. The Hittites, Kati, &c., wear pigtails—also a Tartar fashion—and beards are allowed only to ancient gods and kings; for, as Dr. Beddoe remarks, the Tartar beard remains scanty until late in life.

The high conical cap, which was also worn by Etruscans, was a distinctive Turkish dress down to the present century in Asia Minor. The curled-up toe of the boot is less distinctive, since even the Jews are represented wearing it on the ‘Black Obelisk.’ The very archaic character, both of these sculptures and of the accompanying hieroglyphic emblems, cannot be reconciled with any theory of late date for such monuments. It is the character of the oldest Akkadian sculptures, and of the oldest ‘linear’ emblems, which they used about 3000 B.C., or earlier.

At Samalla, the great Phœnician city above the pass

which leads down to Issus in North Syria, Humann excavated remains of the same class, but found also Phœnician inscriptions of the eighth century B.C., and one in Assyrian as late as 670 B.C. M. Halévy jumped to the conclusion that the Hittites were thus proved to be Semitic. But the texts are separate, and the writer speaks of rebuilding his palace. An inspection of Humann's photographs shows that the sculptures are older and have been re-used. Only one Hittite symbol occurs, accompanying a lion-headed god—probably Set. The conclusion that all Hittite texts were therefore later than 800 B.C. was entirely unwarranted by the facts; and in 717 B.C. the Hittites were carried away captive to the east by Sargon. The finest and most clearly pictorial texts are those of Hamath and Carchemish; those of Cappadocia, Armenia, and Ionia are more hastily and irregularly carved, and approach the later Cypriote forms, the 'hieratic' development of the script. The term *Kali* ('people of the 'left hand' or 'North') suggests an extension from the south; and Cappadocia lies north of Syria. It was probably not reached until after Syria had been colonised, when the Hittites crossed the Euphrates at Carchemish.

Dr. Sayce has lately suggested that this conquest of Syria did not occur until the time of Amenophis IV.; and he dates the texts as not older than 1400 B.C. He ignores the Bible statement that Hittites dwelt in Hebron seven centuries earlier, and believes that Hamath was not founded till after the fifteenth century B.C. But he seems to forget that the Hittites are noticed in Syria as early as the reign of Thothmes I. (probably about 1650 B.C.), and that they were tributary to Thothmes III. The geographic lists of the latter (about 1600 B.C.) mention Hamath, with Kadesh, the great Hittite capital (now *Kedes*) east of Tripoli. Thothmes IV. also attacked the Hittites of Merash, in the extreme north of Syria. In the reign of Amenophis III., according to the Amarna letters,* Artasumara of Matiene was leagued with Hittites, Kassites, and Amorites, who attacked Gebal in Syria, and advanced as far south as Sidon. All these notices precede the reign of Amenophis IV., when Edugamma of Kadesh—probably a Hittite—aided the Amorites in their attack on Tyre and on Damascus.† The

* Berlin Collection, Nos. 9, 10, 42; British Museum Collection, No. 61.

† Berlin Collection, Nos. 37, 142; British Museum Collection, Nos. 30, 46, 64, 76.

people of Matiene, however, were then under Dusratta, father-in-law of Amenophis IV., and the Kassites were under Burnaburias, who was also related to him by marriage. They therefore discouraged this revolt, and even appear to have attacked the Canaanites in rear.

Of the later history it is unnecessary to speak at length, because it does not affect the question of the antiquity of the monuments under consideration. The Hittites, by about 1500 B.C., and the Kati, probably before 1200 B.C., had ceased to use their own characters, and had adopted the cuneiform, which was the common script of all Western Asia, and even understood in Egypt. The famous treaty of Rameses II. with Khetasar of Kadesh, whose daughter he married; the friendly relations between Mineptah and the Hittites in the next reign; their conquest by Tiglath Pileser I.; and their final destruction by Sargon in 717 B.C., are well known and have often been described. It is more important to consider the new facts, brought to light at Nippur and Tell Loh and Nineveh, respecting the spread of the Mongols to the west, before the reign of the great Ammurabi—the Amraphel of the Bible—and the question of recent proposals for decipherment, which have been commended by some writers who have not the necessary special knowledge to enable them to judge, and whose opinions appear now to have been finally disproved by the discoveries of M. Chantre.

Those who boldly state that we now know of kings called by the portentous names *Lugal-Zag-gisi* and *Lugal Ki-gub-ni-du-du*, and that they lived in Chaldea about 7000 B.C., can hardly have studied the evidence on which such assertions rest. These texts, deciphered by Professor Hilprecht, are probably the oldest yet found in Babylonia; but the proposed date is entirely unsupported by evidence, and they may have been written forty centuries later. The first name may probably be read ‘King Sargon,’ and the second is very likely not a proper name at all. The Babylonians believed Sargon to have been the first ruler who built up a Chaldean empire such as these texts describe, and they probably knew more about it than we now can learn.

But, in spite of much loose work of this kind, there is no doubt that some centuries before the foundation of Babylon the Akkadians had reached Syria. Texts from Tell Loh, in the time of Dungi (whom the later Babylonians place about 2800 B.C.), show communication with the west as far as Mount Amanus, which overlooks the Gulf of Issus; and

Kazalla, which lay near Cappadocia, was then well known in Chaldea, as was also the Sinaitic peninsula. It is possible that the Akkadian race had then spread over the whole of Palestine.

Babylon was founded in the twenty-third century B.C., and its first kings appear to have been of Kassite race, judging from the facts, that they worshipped *Suvu* or *Sumu*, who was a Kassite god, and that at a later period King *Agukak-rimi* (as his name is supposed to read), who was a Kassite, claims descent from the kings of this first dynasty. Their chronicle, written in Akkadian, has recently been published by the British Museum, and we have texts of Ammisatana and Ammizaduga of the same dynasty, also written in Akkadian. From the chronicle we learn that Sumuabi, the first king of Babylon, entered Syria; and he appears to have conquered Aleppo, according to Dr. Sayce. His successors all held on to this extension of the empire between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean. A text from Nippur, which seems to record the reign of the famous Ammurabi—whose conquests in the West are well known from other sources—speaks of the marriage of his daughter to the Prince of Merash, who was very probably a Hittite. Another text of Ammizaduga (about 2000 B.C.), also found at Nippur, seems to speak of his conquests as extending to Damascus; and it appears clear that, before the victories of Thothmes III., all Syria—and perhaps Palestine as well—was dominated by the Kassite kings of Babylon, who wrote in the Akkadian language, though they had also a large Semitic population under them, so that many of Ammurabi's letters and records are in Semitic speech as well.

The history so recovered agrees, therefore, entirely with the conclusions of M. Chantre. We have to deal, in treating these ancient populations, not with the Aryans but with the Mongols, whose first centre was at Ur in Chaldea, and their later capital at Babylon. They dominated the Semitic race, which, as far as any extant evidence exists, did not attain to political importance before about 2200 B.C. It is clear that the Hittites, Kati, and other tribes may be supposed, without violating historical probabilities, to have established themselves in Syria and Cappadocia some twenty or thirty centuries B.C.; and the Akkadian language is therefore the tongue most likely to be found in their inscriptions.

Dr. Isaac Taylor was apparently the first to suggest a clue to the decipherment of this distinct system, which is peculiar to the north and west. He proposed comparison

with the syllabary which the Greeks used, in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., in Cyprus, Egypt, and at Xanthus. The emblems are very clearly the later 'hieratic' forms of the Hittite hieroglyphics, and thus in any Hittite text the sounds of some two-thirds of the emblems are established. It is, of course, no more probable that the Greeks invented this system which only most imperfectly designates the sounds of the Greek tongue—than that the Persians invented the cuneiform, which they adopted from the older Mongol civilisation of Susiana. Dr. Sayce was at first inclined to accept this principle, but afterwards abandoned it in favour of very doubtful speculations. It has been developed by Colonel Conder, and it has been accepted by M. Chantre as the foundation of decipherment. It is very clear that this new system did not include more than some 160 signs, which constantly recur on all the newly discovered texts. This evidently represents a syllabary—not an alphabet such as the Phœnicians used, nor a picture or 'ideographic' writing like that of the Chinese. The old Akkadian syllabic texts, found at Tell Loh, Nippur, and elsewhere, are written with about the same number of signs; and George Smith, some twenty years ago, suggested an ultimate connexion between this old 'linear' hieroglyphic character, which developed later into cuneiform, and the Hittite system—a suggestion which is now supported by many striking coincidences of both form and sound.

The theories of Dr. Jensen on this subject do not require serious notice. His views have been severely condemned by Sayce, Hommel, and Messerschmidt. Dr. Hommel not very courteously calls his supposed decipherment a 'mixed composition of tautologies' which are 'impossible;' and certainly the results, which are quite arbitrary, seem hardly worth the trouble of carving in hard basalt. But Dr. Hommel's suggestions are equally unscientific, and these speculations recall the early attempts to read the Egyptian as a 'picture writing,' before Champollion determined the sounds of the emblems and the affinity of the language to Coptic.

Dr. Jensen has, unfortunately, started on several false assumptions, which make it impossible that he should succeed, however learned he may be. First, that such texts can be read either by the pictorial values of the emblems or by bold but unsupported assumptions as to the signs. Secondly, that the key to the language is to be

found in modern Armenian, which all scholars who know anything of Asiatic languages recognise as a purely Aryan tongue of European derivation. Its vocabulary and grammar alike are quite different from the Akkadian, and it is clear that inscriptions legible in the one cannot be read in the other. Thirdly, that the Hittites used an alphabet (with many picture emblems interspersed) and not a syllabary. In this he looks rather to Egypt than to Babylon for the key; but the idea is not in accord with the evidence afforded by the Cypriotic character, nor was the Egyptian alphabet ever really adopted in Asia. Finally, Dr. Jensen and Dr. Hommel entirely ignore the sounds derivable, as above explained, from the later Cypriotic syllabary, and suggest others which are entirely arbitrary, and not based on any particular language or on any comparative study. They as a rule disagree entirely between themselves, and also with Dr. Sayce, as to what these sounds were; and they have made no proper study of the terminations and other common combinations, which should first be treated by a student of such enigmas. They have also been misled by bad copies of the texts, and they learnedly discuss emblems which do not occur at all. The supposed Armenian and Georgian explanations may thus be dismissed, especially as, during the last four years, these scholars have proved unable to explain the new letters found by M. Chantre, which were at once perceived to be in the so-called 'Hittite' language.

This question will, however, probably still remain controversial until it is settled by the recovery of a long bilingual, giving the Hittite side by side with some known character—whether in cuneiform script or in Egyptian, Phœnician, or even Greek. Should M. Chantre be inclined for further exploration, there remain two sites where serious excavations might lead to the desired information being obtained. The first of these is Carchemish (now Jerablus) on the Euphrates—the border city between the Hittites and Assyrians, which has already produced fine Hittite remains, but has never been properly explored. The second is Malatiya (in the ancient Melitene region), west of the Upper Euphrates. This site also is on the borders of two civilisations, and a place where bilinguals are very likely to be found. If he has time and opportunity to explore these sites, as he has explored Cappadocia, M. Chantre may yet further add to our knowledge of an almost forgotten civilisation.

ART. VII.—1. *Life and Campaigns of Alexander Leslie, Earl of Leven.* By C. S. TERRY, M.A., University Lecturer in History, University of Aberdeen. London, New York, and Bombay: 1899.

2. *Rupert Prince Palatine.* By EVA SCOTT, late Scholar of Somerville College, Oxford. London: 1899.

A LIFE of Rupert of the Rhine and a Life of Alexander Leslie both appeared not many months ago. Although the works are entirely independent and have each an interest different in nature from the interest of the other, any one who compares the stories of these two men, now told again with new incident, will draw some old inferences seen clearer in a fresh light concerning that epoch of many features, which as it recedes into the depths of time, year by year and century by century, only comes nearer to our imagination and our understanding. Both Miss Scott and Mr. Terry have gone deep into the historical materials of the Civil War, and have put into an easily attainable form some important and much curious matter. Both are to be congratulated on their adoption of that habit, excellent in historians of a time when the English language was still pure and strong, of frequently setting in their own text, and even in the middle of their own sentences, some phrase from a contemporary letter or narrative that bears in its turn and cadence the charm of a vanished century. Often ungrammatical, and often involved almost to the limit of comprehension, but never flat or vulgar, was the language spoken and written by the men who slew each other in the Civil War. The dull incident lives and the unimportant event gains a personal interest, when the modern historian calls on the actor or eye-witness for a few brief and telling words where they are most wanted.

Miss Scott, whose subject and material very properly aroused in her the hope of making her book delightful to read, has in the matter of quotation gone no further than this excellent practice, and has refrained from printing letters and documents wholesale in such a way as to interrupt the course of her story. She has had the good sense to realise that the chief deficiency in existing literature was some true account of Rupert as a man, that there was material at hand to supply the want, and that she was well suited to carry out the work. She has rightly sacrificed the discussion of military and political problems,

except when they particularly illustrate Rupert's character and abilities. This method is specially desirable in the biography of one who was before everything else a human being, one to whom life was a game not of parties but of persons. The treatment of the subject from this essentially correct point of view actually throws back more light on the public history of the period than if the task of the biographer had been half sacrificed, as it so often is, to that of the military or political historian.

Mr. Terry, on the other hand, finding that the more scanty and less attractive materials for a Life of Alexander Leslie must of necessity make the book a detailed account of the campaigns he fought and the military business he transacted, has printed long papers and despatches. He has produced a work chiefly valuable as a collection of facts and documents, put together in the form of a biography of one whose real 'life' can never be written. The true history of Leslie is the history of the cause with which he so wholly identified himself that his personality did little to affect its nature, though his abilities did much to maintain its fortune.

The daily increasing importance which under modern conditions of life the Scotch character and intellect are assuming in every quarter of the globe, gives a great place in the history of mankind to the incident slightly known as the First Bishops' War. In these years 1638 and 1639 the Scotch people, by a voluntary effort of unusual heroism, saved from imminent danger of suppression the peculiar type of nationality which they were then slowly building up by institutions no less peculiar. Although the question whether Laud's Prayer-book should or should not be used may seem of inferior importance to the question whether Edward I. should or should not make Scotland an appendage to the English crown, the real issue was in each case much the same. National characteristics were in the seventeenth century more than in any later age, and in Scotland more than in any other country, formed by religion and by the many influences and institutions that were then included in its sphere. The difference between the Prayer-book service and that series of metaphysical discourses which a Southerner seldom voluntarily attends a second time, is the outward and visible sign of the inward and spiritual difference between Englishmen and Scotchmen, between Mr. Kipling's Gloster and M'Andrew among common men, between Ruskin and Carlyle among the uncommon.

High as was the stake for which the Scotch rebels played,

the risk of losing was at the outset proportionately great. The inability of our generation to imagine the Scotch as anything but Calvinistic, combines subtly with the comic elements of the story to make the whole affair seem to have been what it was not, a sort of holiday revolution carried to its inevitable issue with joyful uproar and throwing of stools. But, in fact, it was a very desperate business. It required no ordinary courage for a country so thinly peopled and so poor to levy war on the strength and wealth of England. For the Scotch, when they first defied Charles, had no hope of any rising behind his back; they had no definite communications with the English parliamentary party, which had for ten years been dispersed, without leaders and without organisation. And, in fact, during the first Bishops' war there was no stir among the English Puritans. Throughout that agony of suspense and danger on the Tweed, Pym and Hampden remained at home among their neighbours, and Cromwell went about his daily business in the Fens. 'We knew not then,' wrote Baillie the Covenanter, even when Charles's first troubles had begun at York, 'the estate of the English affairs; there was no intercourse betwixt us; our intelligence had much failed us. We heard of nought but of all England's arming.' On such terms there did not seem much likelihood of the smaller nation being able to resist. The Scotch could not encourage themselves by repeating any such pleasing national tradition as that one Scotchman was worth three Englishmen, for the field of Flodden and the conquest of the country after Pinkie were memories which border raids had done nothing to efface. Experience taught that England had been able to subdue Scotland even when she had a king and government of her own. Was it to be expected that she would fare better under an improvised committee of rebels, not yet masters of the principal fortresses in the kingdom, who might at the first check be left stranded by a loyalist reaction, or at the first success break into a fierce faction fight among themselves, as had always been the nature of the Scotch nobility?

The nobles of Scotland had, for very good reasons of their own, put themselves at the head of the movement, with scarcely less enthusiasm than the peasants, townspeople, and lower clergy. They had been ousted from their political position as advisers to the Scotch crown, by the bishops whom James and Charles had raised, at first to preside over the Church, but latterly to hold the chief offices

of state as well. The local importance of the nobles was no less threatened by the large grants of land already made to the new hierarchy, and the rumours of resumption in that interest of the confiscated Church lands in their possession. But it was not merely that their political and social position was endangered. They too had been brought up, like the rest of the nation, to love the Calvinistic doctrine and worship, which the bishops had hitherto done little to suppress, but which was now threatened by the new Prayer-book. What good effects two generations of upbringing in that strait school had had on the nobility may be judged by comparing the moderation and public spirit which they showed during these two years of crisis with the savage violence and untutored egoism by which their grandfathers had repeatedly endangered the same cause, and half enlisted the sympathy of mankind on the side of Mary Stuart. But the Scotch nobles were still, though in a lesser degree, the same mad forces as of old. To appoint one of their own number as commander-in-chief would be to awaken hereditary feuds and jealousies, while to appoint over their heads a burgher or a private gentleman of no reputation would merely be to expose him to their insolence. On the other hand, without a chief whom all would willingly obey, no army could be formed, still less held together. The Scotch enterprise would in all likelihood have gone to ruin but for the timely appearance of a man who curiously combined all the qualifications essential for this very peculiar post, which a man of greater genius might have filled less well.

Alexander Leslie was of gentle birth and profession, but being an illegitimate child had no hereditary pretensions. His claim to respect lay in the record of his services in the camp and on the field, for he was one of the first generals in the famed Swedish army. Having been in foreign employment practically without a break from his twenty-fourth to his fifty-seventh year, he appears to have had in Scotland no connexions, and consequently no enemies, personal or public.* He was the very man to unite the quarrelsome leaders of his native land under his authority, provided his talents and his temper were as suitable as his position in the world.

* He went with Lord Rothes to raise troops in Fife; Rothes was head of the Leslies, and his position among the Covenanters may have helped Alexander to obtain the post of general. But there is no proof of this, and certainly, if the connexion had involved further political consequences, more mention would have been made of it in Baillie or elsewhere.

Fortunately he possessed exactly the qualities most required. Without being a good strategist, he excelled at raising and disciplining armies. Without being a politician, he had a keen eye for the bearing of a political situation on military possibilities. Without being a leader of men, he knew how to manage them; and how to temper command with courtesy, as time and person might require. Although he had long commanded regular mercenary armies abroad, he remembered to observe the subtle, but all-important, difference of manner that befits a leader of volunteers. He inspired the peasants and burghers with confidence in his leadership, the ministers with satisfaction in his orthodoxy, the nobles with acquiescence in his bearing towards themselves.

‘We were feared,’ wrote Baillie, ‘that emulation among our nobles might have done harme, when they should be mett in the fields; bot such was the wisdom and authoritie of that old, little, crooked souldier, that all, with ane incredible submission, from the beginning to the end, gave over themselves to be guided by him, as if he had been great Solymán. Certainlie the obedience of our nobles to that man’s advyces was as great as their forbears wont to be to their king’s commands’—

fortunately, indeed, far greater than what they had shown to most of the vexed wearers of the crown of Macbeth.

‘yet that was the man’s understanding of our Scotts humour, that gave out, not onlie to the nobles, bot to verie mean gentlemen, his directions in a verie homelie and simple forme, as if they had been bot the advyces of their neighbour and companion.’

It is often upheld that Leslie had little enthusiasm for the cause of the Covenant, or for any other cause whatever. This judgement appears to be based on the purely negative evidence afforded by his despatches, because they are not loaded with the usual texts of Scripture; but Cromwell’s habit of expressing his religious and political feelings in business letters was by no means universal even among the English Puritans, and it may well be that it was still more rare in the school of Gustavus, where Leslie had learnt the duties of a general. Although it cannot be doubted that he was a less emotional man than Cromwell, there is reason to think that he carried about much silent devotion under an impassive exterior. In the first place, an old battered soldier nearer his sixtieth than his fiftieth year, and sated with wealth and honours, does not throw himself into a new and arduous service in which failure means hanging, without further incentives than pay and reputa-

tion. Secondly, his later conduct showed that he was not prepared, as is often asserted, to engage in any quarrel for which the Scotch Estates were ready to hire his service. When in 1648 they organised an invasion of England in alliance with the Cavaliers, he disapproved so strongly that he resigned his command. On the other hand, in the Dunbar campaign two years later, when Scotland was again in arms for the Covenant, he consented to go down into the field as Lord General, though his extreme old age forced him to leave most of his duties to David Leslie. Lastly we have the evidence of a letter to Hamilton, which for once is something more than a despatch. Here only, in all the correspondence that Mr. Terry gives, does Leslie utter the thoughts of his heart. But on this occasion it is no uncertain voice; there is no touch of conventionality, coldness, or hypocrisy in his lament for Gustavus:

‘ So ar we to our unspeakable greife deprived of the best and most valorous commander that evir any souldiers hade, and the Church of God with hir good cause of the best instrument under God, we becaus we was not worthe of him, and she for the sinnes of hir children; and altho’ our lose who did follow him sal be much greater, for how can it be when the heade which gave such heavenly influence unto all the inferioure members that nevir any distemperature or weakness was seen in them, how can it be since that heade is taken from the body, bot the members thereof sall fall unto much fainting and confusion? But this I say not, that after I doubt of God’s providence, or of these whom he has left as actores behind him, for I am persuaded that God wil not desert his own cause, bot will yet stirre up the heartis of some of his anoynted ones to prosecute the defence of his cause, and to be emolouse of such renowne as his Majestie has left behind him for evir. . . . Now it remaines that we turne our sorrow to revenge, and our own hearts to God by earnest prayer that he would stirre up the heartis of such men as may doe good to his cause, and now tak it in hand when it is in such a case ’ (p. 31).

It is to be observed that it is not the man so much as the cause that Leslie has at heart. His is not the cry of Heine’s grenadier on hearing that Napoleon has fallen. It is not the lament of a soldier for his chief, but of a Protestant for his religion. He came to Scotland to uphold the same cause, and he did it all the better because he was a shrewd and businesslike man who preferred action to long discourses.

In the spring of 1638 Leslie had visited Scotland to bring away his wife and children.* But he found his

* This visit to Scotland in the spring has escaped Mr. Terry’s

native land convulsed by an agitation which, by appealing to his sympathies, altered not only his immediate plans, but the whole future course of his life. He returned quietly to the Continent, retired from the Swedish army where he had served thirty years, busied himself in the arrangements for the import of arms and ammunition into Scotland, and used the great influence he had with numbers of his countrymen to induce them to throw up their commissions and return home to defend their country. In the autumn he and many of his comrades in arms found their way home by slipping through the watch of the English cruisers. Posterity, misled by the obvious analogy of Sir Walter's hero, has sometimes regarded these men as inspired by the motives of Sir Dugald Dalgetty. But this was not the impression they left on those who knew them best.

'To help their boasted mother-church and country,' says Baillie, 'they have deserted their charges abroad to their great losse, which they knew she was never able to make up: they have here, on verie easie and small conditions, attended her service. . . . The renowne of their kindness, and the conscience of their desert at the hand of their mother, for ever will be their greatest and most glorious recompence.'

With the help of these professional subordinates, many of whom had already served under him and knew his methods, Leslie was able to carry out his designs in his own way, and to weld the enthusiastic Scotch volunteers into a real army. The nobles and gentlemen were made colonels and captains over the troops they had led to the muster, but the lieutenants who advised them were nearly all officers from over the sea. The vigour that inspired this national armament was first tested in operations which reduced all resistance within the covenanted districts of Scotland. Edinburgh and Dumbarton Castles, which in more than one civil war, both before and after this date, proved insuperable obstacles to the complete triumph of the stronger party, were surprised and captured. All centres of royalism throughout the country were stamped out by military expeditions, and when in the late spring of 1639 Charles approached the border, a united nation and a disciplined army stood in his path.

In England Charles had not been paralysed by resistance, but he had been hampered by want of support. His

notice. But see Gardiner (cabinet edition), vol. viii. p. 388, text and note.

enemies sat still, not knowing their strength, but the friends on whom he was now forced to rely were lukewarm in the extreme. The Puritans indeed stayed at home in the south; but the private soldiers, and still more the nobles who composed his army and his council of war, had none of the Cavalier spirit of later times. Although it was not an army with which he could fight a severe battle against a formidable and determined foe, yet, as it was strong in numbers and no worse than indifferent in feeling, he could certainly have conquered Scotland if the force opposed to him had been feeble or disunited. Owing to the presence of Alexander Leslie it was as strong and compact as it was zealous and brave.

It is impossible sufficiently to admire the alternate firmness and moderation, in strategy and diplomacy alike, by which the Scotch brought this dangerous campaign on the Tweed to a peaceful but glorious conclusion. They shed no blood to cry for vengeance between the English and themselves, and they sent home the king, baffled but not insulted. Their devoted expressions of loyalty, their studied moderation of manner throughout the negotiations, must be attributed to the canny wisdom of the Scotch political leaders. But the military operations which first induced Charles to abandon the offensive and remain south of the Tweed, and then frightened him into readiness to grant terms, all without a battle, must be set down to Leslie's knowledge of his art and full appreciation of the political object of the war.

When, next year, the king, in an evil hour for himself, renewed his attempt to reduce Scotland, the conditions were totally changed. 'The second Bishops' War was not so heroic a business as the first, for the Scotch had not only gained confidence from the success of last summer, but had since seen in the Short Parliament welcome proof that more than half the English people were their friends. Instead of a royal army on the Tweed they had only to deal with a small detachment on the Tyne. But again their political measures exactly balanced the possibilities of the situation, and again Leslie accomplished his military task without a flaw. The rapid march through Northumberland and the occupation of Newcastle (described in Mr. Terry's book in detail that should interest all North-countrymen) put the Scotch in a position militarily secure and politically commanding. As long as Leslie sat safe behind the Tyne the Long Parliament sat safe in Westminster, and the converse

proposition was equally true. As Charles found he had to get rid of one by concession before he could attempt to remove the other by force, he came to Edinburgh in August 1641 and surrendered unconditionally to the Scotch demands. Among other ironical courtesies exchanged on this occasion, he made Leslie Earl of Leven. The old man drove round the town in friendly fashion with the sovereign he had thwarted—and, though he knew it not, dethroned—amidst the hearty cheers of a populace who had conquered their king, and could afford to be goodnatured.

It would have been well for the Scotch if these festivities at Edinburgh had indeed been the end. They had settled their own national problem with a success that would have been final had they not been unfortunately drawn back into the greater vortex of the English civil war. It was perhaps impossible for them, from the point of view of their own safety, to permit Charles to conquer his Parliament, but their heads were also filled by a less prudent spirit of proselytism, which was to cause terrible woe to both kingdoms. In January 1644 Leven again entered Northumberland, this time at the head of a more professional army than the muster he had commanded on Dunse Law. The troops were regularly enlisted and paid, and the majority, not only of the lieutenants but of the colonels, were soldiers trained in the continental wars. After considerable marching and countermarching in Durham through bitter snowstorms the Scotch army left the town of Newcastle in the rear occupied by the enemy, and, joining hands with their English allies, sat down to the famous siege of York.

Although the great feud had raised up man against man in almost every corner of Britain, it had up to this time remained everywhere local in character. But in the summer of 1644 the capital of the North of England drew around its walls, with magnetic influence, types of every great party that was struggling to snatch its own triumph out of the victory of Parliament or King. While in the camp of the besiegers Cromwell's speculative troopers from the eastern counties and the more orthodox infantry of Fairfax were taking stock of their brother Scots, of whom they had for six years heard so much and seen so little, there was hastening up from the south-west, with a scarcely less divided and certainly more motley host, a young man who was to the Cavalier cause what old Leven was to the Scotch nation. For Rupert of the Rhine was the fighting man from over the seas, who had

taken little part in the politics that led to the war and the negotiations that ever failed to put an end to it, but who had, at the outbreak of hostilities, rendered to his party the inestimable service of training a civil people in the ways of war as he had seen it among the Swedes and French. And, like the Scotch general, he had rendered this service not from the tangible motives of Sir Dugald Dalgetty but out of pure fidelity of spirit. Here, however, the parallel stops; for, while the spirit of Leven was fidelity to the Protestant religion and loyalty to the Scotch nation, the spirit of Rupert was fidelity to the friends of his youth and loyalty to Charles Stuart, the patron of his family. Most men are half for the public and half for their friends. But Leven was wholly for the public, and Rupert wholly for his friends. Neither is it hard to see the causes that had turned the cold deep stream of the Scotchman's consideration into a great public channel, and the tumultuous mountain cataract of Rupert's life into a thousand particular loves and hates. Leven, a bastard, a man without family and relations, had been forced to spend the years of his youth, when personal ties with strangers are most easily formed and most firmly knit, in suppression of all sides of himself that would not lead a poor and unknown man to promotion. Meanwhile, under the influence of the Dutch and afterwards of the Swedish services, the cause of Protestantism became to him the one absorbing outside ideal; and as self-interest became satisfied with success the outside ideal occupied more and more exclusively the mind of the old soldier of Gustavus. But besides the ever-present cause of an international religion, the memory of his native land was kept alive as a distant desire; for though far from Scotland he was never far from Scotchmen, and the talk around the camp-fires on the Danube and in the guard-rooms of Pomeranian garrisons turned ever back to the High Street and the Castle, the Firth and the distant hills beyond, the blind road over the moor, the valley head, the farm behind its sparse and wind-bent trees. So that when in 1638, sated with wealth and honours, yet unbound by any close personal ties, Alexander Leslie was called on to fight for the country he had never forgotten and the cause he had ever loved, his whole being answered, 'Here am I.'

Rupert's experience of life, on the other hand, seemed no less specially designed by Providence to put public considerations to the back of his mind and private motives to the fore. The son of Frederick Elector Palatine and of Elizabeth,

daughter of James I., he had no country ; for within a year of his birth (1619) his father lost Bohemia and the Palatinate, and the family established itself in the capacity of distinguished exiles in Holland, halfway between the mother's native England and the father's lost dominions on the Rhine. Flying visits to the one, unsuccessful campaigns into the other, were enough to teach young Rupert the ways of the world, but not enough to give him patriotism or a home. His family, in fact, stood to him in the place of a country. The common claims, privation, and dangers of a doubtful position, bound together the numerous family of sons and daughters with ties unusually strong. The father died in 1632, but the mother's manly and imperious spirit still taught the boys to look forward to the day when they should regain the family inheritance by the sword. In spite of, or perhaps on account of, the fact that they lived largely on the charity of the States of Holland and of their uncle Charles I., the characteristic of the Palatine brotherhood was the opposite of humility. In spite of the fact that they suffered severe privations for want of money, mother and sons alike were buoyant and gay, 'of wild humour to be merry in spite of fortune.' But reckless courage and love of adventure were the most strongly marked characteristics.

When this most electric family quarrelled, the quarrels were not to be laughed at; but during the boyhood of Rupert mother and children were closely allied, and the shocks were felt only by the world outside. Their sister Sophie, who shared her brothers' early fortunes and characteristics, lived to bring into the world a race of kings who were not famous either for prolonged and romantic exile or for love of boisterous and gay adventure. That the daughter of the house of the Palatinate should be the mother of the house of Hanover is one of the freaks of fortune and the mysteries of nature.

If Rupert's family stood to him for a country, a high and real code of honour stood to him for a religion. Although he had been brought up with all his brothers and sisters in the strictest ways of Protestant theology, a visit to England and the influence of a host of new and delightful acquaintances at the Court of Henrietta Maria almost made the impressionable young man a Catholic. Fortunately his mother was able, before it was too late, to lure him back to the Continent with the prospect of a campaign. Although he ever afterwards remained staunchly Protestant, often at some cost to himself, it may be suspected that the traditions

of the family, his sense of honour, and his dogged and independent nature, had at least as much to do with his resolution as any deep theological conviction. He was not indeed a special product of that pious and dogmatic century; he was the gentleman adventurer of all ages, the young man of Shakespeare's comedies, detached from abstract considerations and party catch-words, relying in all his sudden decisions 'upon the genial sense of youth.'

The most important relation of Rupert's life was the strong affection that had sprung up between himself and his uncle Charles I. during these boyish visits to England. The removal of the head of the Palatine family by death, and the extreme youth of his orphan sons, had for some years lent a very good colour to the inaction of the uncle with regard to the reconquest of their lost patrimony; while all that kind words, a hearty welcome, and high favour in the charming English Court could do to win the gratitude of a poor exile, who 'no revenue had but his good spirits,' was done for Rupert with all the gracious dignity of which Charles was born master. The prince had, in fact, promised to serve his patron whenever he should be needed, so that when in August 1642 he received in Holland a commission as General of the King's Horse, he was bound by honour as well as by inclination to accept. Thus his relation to the Civil War was not public but personal. England was not his country, and the quarrel was none of his. Indeed, since the Puritan Parliament had for twenty years been opposed to the royal peace policy, and would certainly have used its victory over the king to prosecute the cause of the exiled Palatines as the common cause of all true Protestants, political gratitude and private interest would alike have placed the prince with his much-abused brother Charles on the side of the Parliament. 'Let all England judge,' wrote Fairfax, complaining of his famous plunderings, 'whether
' the burning of its towns, ruining of its cities, and destroy-
' ing of its people be a good requital from a person of your
' family, which has had the prayers, tears, purses, and blood
' of its Parliament and people.' But one ounce of personal gratitude outweighs a pound of political; and, though Rupert raised endless disturbances in what he conceived to be his private interest, he was always eager to sacrifice it to his private honour.

Whether this sudden summons across the seas of Rupert of the Rhine proved the blessing or the bane of the Cavalier cause, is no easy question. Mr. Gardiner, without commit-

ting himself to any distinct utterance on the subject, leaves an impression on the whole unfavourable to Rupert, but Miss Scott supplies details which again give pause to hasty judgement. The case may be stated thus. The Cavaliers had not monetary resources enough to carry the war successfully over a prolonged period; but on the other hand they had, among the volunteers of 1642, material from which a first line of attack might have been constructed sufficient to bear down all opposition in the first or second year of the war. But constructive ability was needed, for, good as the material was, it was raw. No doubt the more fashionable and less puritanical half of the English gentry, in days when duelling was no joke, were less startled by the clash of arms and more practised in the use of weapons than burghers who had been brought up under less barbarous social conventions; no doubt the hunting-field was a better training ground for cavalry than the yeoman's weekly ride to market on his ambling nag; but of actual war there was no more experience among the gentlemen of the county than among the train-bands of the town, and perhaps even less of military organisation. The king's cause required two men, of natural genius and of experience gained in the wars of the Continent: first, a man who could weld the excellent material ready to hand into a cavalry that nothing could resist, and who could lead it on all the various services which that arm could then perform in war; secondly, a man who could conduct the tactics of the battle-field and the strategy of the campaign as a whole, using cavalry and infantry together in their proper place. Now, although Rupert performed the first service to perfection, in so far as it can be perfectly performed without relation to the second, he was not only incapable of performing the second himself, but he stood seriously in the way of its performance by any one else. Before, however, dwelling on the faults which ruined the Cavaliers, for which the prince was only one of many persons responsible, it will be well to insist that it was he who organised the cavalry, who filled them with his own spirit of endurance, confidence, and dashing valour, who led them with extraordinary strategic as well as tactical genius on all services, where he could command, and where they could act alone. All this he did at the age of twenty-two to twenty-three, a record almost unequalled in the annals of youthful achievement. All this immense weight of business and responsibility he had not only carried off successfully, but had impregnated with

his own ideas and his own character, at an age when Bonaparte, a forward youth enough in his way, had only carried out a small though important operation against the fort at Toulon.

But where was the man to use Rupert and his cavalry? Where was the man who might have changed the fate of England and rolled back what is now called the 'inevitable' advance of freedom? Not only was there no man of genius forthcoming for this high service, but the post of commander-in-chief was to all intents and purposes never filled at all. If Strafford had been allowed to survive, he would at this supreme crisis of the cause of despotism have been at Charles's side to force him to appoint a commander whom men and nephews should obey. But left to himself the king could no more grasp a military than a political necessity. The one bond of union of all the jealous men and selfish interests that clamoured around him, as well as of the more modest and self-sacrificing members of the party, he was so indispensable to them all that if he had remained firm fixed he must, without effort of his own, have become their polestar; but his shiftiness made him their shuttlecock. He might have chosen some man at least not wholly incapable, and said to them all, 'Friends, country-men, and kinsfolk, here is your general. Either obey his orders without appeal to me, or leave my service.' This he would have done if nature had endowed him with that little strength of will or that considerable want of sensibility with which she has armed three-quarters of mankind. But he had none of the qualities of a shopkeeper. His delicate sense of personal relations, continually reflecting what was near him, but never what was far from him, keenly alive to the claims and susceptibilities, not indeed of his people, nor even of his party, but of all who thronged around him with passionate entreaty to his good-nature and appeal to their past services and present loyalty, would not allow him to enforce discipline among his officers. Thus it came about that he appointed a nonentity as general-in-chief, practically keeping all important decisions to himself and to those who were about his person from time to time. This arrangement was even worse than the fatal system which has lost so many armies, both in ancient and modern warfare, the command on alternate days; for whereas in the case of Paullus and Varro it was always possible to calculate who would be in command on any given date, the boldest gambler in camp would hesitate before he

staked his deferred pay on the issue whether Rupert or Digby, Goring or Forth would have the upper hand on the morrow. If Charles thought that by keeping the strings in his own hands he would secure the desired unity of action, it is only another example of how long a man may live in complete ignorance of himself. Be that as it may, the system set a premium on intrigue and gave a stimulus to jealousy and faction, things that could have been found in the royal camp without the offer of a special reward. Fine old Cavaliers like the Earl of Lindsey and Sir Edmund Verney, men who only asked to be spent or sacrificed for their political principles or their religious ideals, had less influence than they merited under a system that was little better than an indecent scramble for the king's confidence. As the only way to obtain military authority was to push others aside in that scramble, it came to pass that no man could rise to the top without making a host of personal enemies among his future colleagues. Mr. Gardiner has scarcely done justice to the instructive story of the feuds among the royalist military leaders which Miss Scott sets out in fascinating detail. The modern historian, with his tendency to explain everything on difference of principle, is in his own element among the Independents and Presbyterians, the train-bands and the Ironsides, the Wallers and the Leslies, and the Cromwells. But when he carries his notions over to the Cavalier lines, he is soon at fault. His 'golden words are spent' over Falkland and Verney, Fuller and Chillingworth. He cannot tie up Rupert in a formula, or state Goring's views on the relation of Church and State. The much-talked-of rivalry of the military and civilian parties is inadequate as a complete explanation of the feuds that divided the Cavalier leaders. The greater part of these were purely personal quarrels, natural among full-blooded men who had been brought up to regard life as an affair, not between parties and creeds, but between man and man, and inevitable under the system which Charles had chosen to establish. They fought, not on points of principle, but on points of precedence; they threw up their commissions not because the Crown had intrigued with the Catholics or offered toleration to the sects, but because this one had not been given a colonelcy, and that one had been expected to carry out the orders of a superior he disliked. The personal motive which Marvell, naturally because he was a poet, gave as the reason why Cromwell

' Did thorough his own side
His fiery way divide,'

is better applied to Rupert and Goring.

‘For ’tis all one to courage high
The emulous or enemy,’

exactly explains why those young Capulets and Montagues could not work together for the common cause of their prince. The less violent though no less dangerous quarrel of Essex and Waller is almost the only case of a difference among the Parliamentary generals that was more personal than political. As their divisions generally turned on questions of Church and State, they were of higher significance, and have rightly been treated at greater length by Mr. Gardiner. The contemptuous silence with which he passes over the mutual animosities of the Cavaliers is justified from the point of view from which he writes his history; but those will read Miss Scott’s book who are pleased to contemplate on a stage of great historic events the simple passions of life, working in men of uncommon valour, vigour, and talent, but warped by that false definition of personal dignity which is only taught to aristocracies, and wholly unrestrained by the great influences which were then beginning to teach Englishmen of all classes a new view of the value of life and the dignity of man.

It would be a gross injustice to Rupert to class him, without further distinction, with Digby, Goring, and Wilmot. Each of them headed his own party and worked against the others in turn, with a violence or a subtlety of intrigue that was grossly disloyal to the public interest. But whereas Digby, Goring, and Wilmot were each a particular kind of scoundrel, Rupert was a gentleman, loving to friends and often generous to enemies. He was rewarded by the sincere attachment of his devoted servant, honest Will Legge, and of his inseparable brother Maurice, whom death alone after many years divided from him. It is pleasant also to find that the long sufferings of the Civil War and the terrific catastrophe of Marston could not dry up the springs of genuine and honest gaiety in the two brothers. When in January, 1645, the negotiations of Uxbridge were on foot, the Parliamentary proposals contained ‘a long list of excepted persons, who were to expect ‘no pardon,’ headed by the names of Rupert and Maurice. The two princes, as their names were read out, caught each other’s eye across the council table, and, as if they were back in the nursery at the Hague, ‘fell into a laughter, at which the King seemed displeased, and bid them be quiet.’

‘How much lies in laughter, the cipher-key wherewith we ‘decipher the whole man!’ Considering that Rupert, who knew enough of war to see the cause was lost, continued to press for the completion of the treaty, the incident is a gracious one, and will make every one wish that he had known the prince.

Rupert’s relation to his uncle was at once too intimate and too insubordinate for the requirements of discipline. The advantage he possessed, as nephew, over all competitors, even over the favourite secretary, Digby, was such that whenever he was present with the king he generally had his way. But his ceaseless activity—which made the Parliamentarians think there were four Ruperts, one for each quarter of England—drew him away so often from Oxford, that Digby, who generally retired into the background during these touching family interviews, resumed operations as soon as the clatter of horse-hoofs down High Street told that the war-storm had passed away into the enemy’s lines. In a few days messengers would be spurring off with counter-orders in quest of the vanished prince, or some friend of Rupert would be disappointed of a commission to which he laid claim. After that it was only a matter of time before an unusual stir in the ante-chamber told that the General of the King’s Horse had come back almost unattended, straight as a homing pigeon, by some dangerous short cut through Roundhead territory, full of noisy remonstrance only to be appeased by protestations, caresses, and some compensating concession.

Although the prince suffered injustice on sundry occasions from his uncle’s inability to adhere to any fixed course of conferring royal favour, he had upon the whole too much rather than too little of his own way. At the very outbreak of the war he stipulated that in his command of the cavalry he should receive orders from no one but Charles himself—a condition which reduced the general-in-chief to little better than military attendant on the king. It would even be rash to say that Forth, the nominal commander of the royal forces, had the most influential share in drawing up those plans of campaign which he had not the authority to carry out. The really excellent schemes which the king finally approved, for the advance on London in ’42 and ’43, and for the reduction of the North and West in ’44, are of uncertain origin. They are supposed by Mr. Gardiner to have chiefly come from Rupert.* It was certainly natural

* Civil War (cabinet edition), vol. ii. pp. 63-4.

that an intellect which afterwards turned to physical science for occupation should master the theoretical problem of a campaign. If this supposition is correct, the prince had not only the very highest qualities as an organiser and leader of cavalry, but an acute intelligence for grasping the conditions of the war as a whole, and for varying the general plan of operations according to the changing fortunes of each season. For during the first three years of the war the Royalist strength lay not only in the superior quality and handling of their cavalry, but in the general plan of action which lent to the movements of all their widely scattered forces a unity they would otherwise have lacked and an ulterior purpose that was nearly fulfilled. But even if the Cavaliers owed both those advantages principally to the genius of Rupert, he was fatally deficient in that branch of the art military which lies between the province of the general of cavalry and the province of the theorist who sketches the campaign as a whole—namely, the art of actually conducting the campaign which has been sketched, and fighting a great battle of all arms together. In this capacity he was tried and found wanting. It was he who brought about the battles of Marston and Naseby under conditions which gave no advantage of ground and left no place of retreat to the weaker army. Time might have taught this marvellous young man the conduct of a campaign in the field, but he had not learnt it at the age of twenty-five.

Nothing better illustrates the conditions of Rupert's failure and success than the story of his services in the year of Marston Moor. The February of 1644 saw him established in his new headquarters at Shrewsbury as Captain of North Wales and the neighbouring English counties, where the king's hopes for recruits and supplies chiefly lay. Long intrigues had been necessary to win him a post for which he was eminently qualified, and now that he had left Oxford to occupy it, it was all that his agents there could do to prevent his supplies from being cut off. 'Persuasion,' as one of them bitterly complains to him, 'avails little at Court, where always the orator convinces 'sooner than the argument.' But the prince made a good shift, and what he could not get from his allies he took from enemies and neutrals. The administrative work of the district, which had fallen into disorder and bankruptcy, would alone have occupied the energies of any ordinary man, but Rupert found time also to organise, and some-

times personally to conduct, military expeditions of a local character. Trumpets calling in the grey winter's dawn, a troop of horse plunging down miry lanes and up steep banks all day, and at nightfall the clash of steel ringing through some Roundhead mansion, that had dreamt dreams of safety retired among the western woods! By two or three months of active work Rupert did much to stamp a uniform Royalism on the country between Chester and Ludlow. His youth, which still impaired his efficiency as field-marshal, lent him that elasticity of body and energy of mind which this sort of work required, while his great physical strength—which years afterwards enabled him to hold a mutinous sailor over the side of the ship—made it easy for him, after days and nights in the saddle, to dismount at Shrewsbury with vigour unimpaired for the despatch of the official business of his lieutenancy. During this period in winter quarters, when he was imposing on himself mental work equal to that of a cabinet minister in time of war combined with physical exertion equal to that of a master of hounds on a hard day, his idea of relaxation was not a sofa and a novel, but 'a cast of goshawks,' for which he wrote to Ormond. It was not the necessities of his situation, but his insatiable appetite for ever fresh activity, that kept him throughout his whole life ceaselessly engaged.

In the middle of March he was temporarily called away from his western command. Newark-on-Trent, which, since the complete submersion of Lincolnshire under the rising flood of the armies of the Eastern Association, was highly prized by both parties as a link with the increasingly important war in Yorkshire, could hold out but little longer against the besieging Parliamentary force under Meldrum. There was no time for Rupert to collect a regular army; dashing through the midland counties with a small force, he summoned to his standard all the Cavalier garrisons in the neighbourhood of Newark, who readily trooped out to serve on such an enterprise under such a leader. So rapid were his movements that the besiegers remained in their trenches, incredulous of his advance, till they were beaten, surrounded, and forced to capitulate on the terms of the surrender of their artillery. The garrison, which had endured horrible privations, not for fear of the governor, but from loyalty to the cause, gave Rupert one of those receptions which need no organising.

'As he entered the old gates one cry of triumph rose,
To bless and welcome him who had saved them from their foes :

The women kiss his charger, and the little children sing
"Prince Rupert brought us bread to eat, from God and from the
king."

This was the crowning moment of Rupert's life—the summit of his personal success, for all round him the tide was ebbing fast away, and his own fate was already preparing in the north. The garrisons who had marched together on this joyous little crusade returned each sadly to its home, to resume, in manor-house and castle, the watch of doubt slowly turning to despair and terrible protracted expectation, till death took them one by one. Rupert, again left without an army, went back to his ordinary duties in the west. From these he was again called away, to face a problem very different from the relief of Newark—to raise the siege of York and save the Cavalier cause in the north of England. Renewed entreaties and intrigues at the uncertain fountain-heads of Oxford, renewed personal energy in the west, put him in a few weeks at the head of an army with which he determined to start, calculating, as he had calculated in March, that he would grow like the snowball as he went. Towards the end of May he plunged into Lancashire, where a fierce local war was going unfavourably for the Cavaliers, cut his way through a country studded with hostile garrisons and seething with hostile armies in the field, and emerged at Skipton in Yorkshire with considerably increased forces. But the Parliamentary generals in the leaguer round York were not the men to be caught in their trenches as Meldrum had been at Newark. They broke up the siege, and moved west to meet Rupert. He slipped round by the north, and joined the relieved garrison under Newcastle outside the gates of York. So far no general could have acquitted himself better or more successfully; but now, in spite of the remonstrances of the old and torpid Newcastle, he decided in an evil hour to give battle to the great army which he had outmanœuvred and to the great generals whom he had outwitted.

Although Miss Scott considers that the letter from Charles which he had in his pocket was a plain command to fight a battle, that part of it which she quotes only speaks of the defeat of the besieging army as an operation necessary for the relief of the town, while that part of it which she does not quote makes it still more doubtful whether any duty further than the raising of the siege is enjoined on the

prince.* But although much may be said for the decision to give battle, less on the ground of the king's ambiguous letter than from the pressing need of victory to a cause whose resources were on the wane, Rupert cannot wholly be excused for the place and circumstances in which he deliberately forced the retreating enemy to turn back and fight.

It is needless again to relate the unexpected march and countermarch which set the two great armies drawn up within cannon-shot—the Roundheads amid the waving corn on the southern slope, the Royalists on the flat and open moor from which the sun of a still bloodless summer day was already beginning to sink. Whether, as Rupert proposed, the sun should be again in the east before the Cavaliers charged into the corn, or whether, as Cromwell disposed, its last rays should light on his own cuirassiers as they fell among the squadrons on the moor, it was plain that evening or morning would see a notable slaughter among the chosen of the land. Long as the war had lasted, no great battle had yet been fought to a finish. Waller had lost all his infantry at Roundway Down, but they had scarcely amounted to two thousand in all. At the great battle of Edgehill, the infantry had on neither side paid the last penalty for the misconduct of the horse, and at Newbury the hedges and the broken ground would, in all events, have prevented a great disaster on the field. But now were assembled, from north and from south, the picked men of the two parties, stronger in numbers, stronger in experience of war than in any former battle, and set against each other on a plain where there was no shelter behind which repulsed regiments could rally, or fugitives make off unseen. Such was the place and such the hour in which, for the first and last time, Leven and Rupert met on a day which was to prove the fatal climacteric of both their lives.

It was already getting late when Lord Eythin came up with the last of the Royalist infantry from York. As Rupert and he were old acquaintances, having fought together in the Palatinate years before, the prince paid him the unusual compliment of asking his advice, in spite of the fact that he

* This wonderful despatch illustrates the great fault of early seventeenth-century prose—so far superior to ours in almost every other way—obscurity arising from want of construction. Charles presumably wished to make clear what he meant Rupert to do, yet the sentences are so involved that historians are still quarrelling as to what he did mean.

was Newcastle's own military expert. Lord Eythin unceremoniously pointed out that the disposition of the troops on the paper which Rupert held in his hand did not correspond to their actual order on the ground, but that no rectification of the line, still less any retreat from the hazardous position in which they stood, could now be made, since the slightest disarrangement of the ranks would bring the enemy on them at push of pike before order could be restored. The troops must sleep in their ranks and attack at morning. Rupert took his chiding well and sat down on the ground to supper, somewhat damped perhaps, but confident of making all good at daybreak. But his meal was still unfinished when he leaped to his feet in sudden horror at a sight which he had not contemplated as possible. Birnam Wood was coming to Dunsinane, the Roundhead army was rolling down on to the moor. It is impossible now to say how great were the disadvantages under which Rupert's carelessness or ignorance had placed the Cavaliers. Whether the marshalling of the army criticised by Eythin was really defective, whether the cavalry were so completely surprised that they obtained no impetus for their first charge, or advanced in real disorder, can never be certainly stated. There remained only a few seconds before the opposing armies were locked together, and in that pregnant interval every man was too busy with what he himself had on hand, to take note of the general conditions of a battle that was joining with a crash over nearly two miles of ground.

Rupert, in spite of his responsibility for the battle as a whole, rode out at the head of his hitherto invincible cavalry. Possibly, if the success to which he was accustomed had followed his charge, the fact that he was in command of the army might have brought him back with more timely succour than he deigned to lend the foot at Edgehill and Naseby. But this time his horsemen had met their match. No ordinary strength could have turned to flight the men he led, 'many of them, if not the greatest part, gentlemen;' but the loyal co-operation of the Irousidés and the Scotch cavalry finally prevailed in a confused and protracted *mêlée*. The flower of the Puritanism of two countries put to flight the flower of the chivalry of England. A detachment told off to follow the fugitives and prevent their rallying carried the pursuit far over the countryside. A mile behind the fighting line stood Wilstrop Wood, on the flat level of the moor. The flight of the horsemen was turned aside by this

obstacle, so that they 'fled along Wilstrop Wood side as 'fast and as thick as could be.' It is probable that many of them were here ridden down and shot; it is certain that a hundred and fifty years later sawyers at work in its gloomy shade found bullets embedded in the trees. Rupert himself, separated from all companions in the chances of the flight, escaped by leaping his horse over a high and dangerous fence into a bean field, where, sheltered by the growing beans, he 'played the creep-hedge,' far from the battle where he fain would have been.

Rupert was not the only leader at that moment flying from this strange battle which made and sullied so many reputations. The victory which the Royalist cavalry under Goring achieved over less formidable opponents than those who had routed Rupert, exposed the Roundhead infantry to a terrible ordeal. First Fairfax's Yorkshiremen, then the Scotch reserves, turned and fled. One by one, as night fell, the regiments broke up and ran, till at last Leven himself, who could see nothing in the dubious light but his men making off the field, supposed that the battle must everywhere be a rout, and fled fast and far—how far, let those inquire who laugh over the misadventures of good men. But, though Leven himself had gone, the chief work of his life, the Scotch army he had made, remained in force enough to save the cause of freedom. Three of his regiments, if the brave old man had but known it, still stood like rocks amid the flood, beating back the continuous storm of horse and foot. So weltered the battle in confusion and disaster for the Roundhead cause, when Cromwell, returning at the head of his cavalry, took stock of the victorious bands of Royalists ranging at large over the field, or fiercely grouped round the Scotch battalions at bay. In moments like this, which bewildered more experienced generals, Oliver still kept his head as clear and heart as undismayed as other men, two hours before, when they had first gone down shouting into the ordered battle. Keeping their men well in hand, the leaders of the Puritan cavalry conducted their operations with a methodical division of labour and precision of purpose which, at this stage of the fight, was sure to secure victory, and soon scattered the victorious Royalist horse. And now, by the light of a strong moon upon the shadowless open field, the reapers reaped through the short summer night the dreadful harvest. Newcastle's white coats, the old guard of the northern Cavalier army, worthy of a more valiant leader, were cut down man by man as they

stood. When the sun came round again into the east, it saw, not Rupert leading his unconquered squadrons to the charge, but four thousand naked corpses, and wounded men without number, stretched upon the moor, where a little band of ghastly victors were ordering the files of captives.

Meanwhile in York the 'gentlemen came dropping in one by one, not knowing but marvelling and doubting what fortune might befall one another.' Rupert, after lonely adventures in the darkened hedgerows, found his way within the walls shortly before midnight. He was welcomed with tears by the unshepherded crowd that thronged the streets, waiting for some well-known voice to speak the word of authority which could alone prevent further ruin and dispersion. The moment put the leaders to the test of their true qualities. Newcastle, with an aristocratic selfishness, on a point of personal dignity worthy of Sir Willoughby Patterne, declared that 'he could not endure the laughter of the Court,' and made off to Scarborough to take ship for the Continent. Rupert, gathering together all who would follow a drooping flag, rode out of the city towards the north-west, which appeared to him to be the safest direction for the retreat of the army. He halted at Richmond Castle, on the great rock round which the Swale sweeps out of its rugged valley into the plain of York. There, with one foot on the hills ready for flight, he waited to give the scattered Cavaliers time to rejoin him. Then, turning his back on the lost Ridings, he led his broken forces up Wensleydale and over the pass into North Lancashire, whence after some time he effected a retreat into Wales.

Such a crushing disaster, followed without a day's respite by the perpetual worries and anxieties involved in the work of leading about a beaten army, for once told on the spirit of sober and cheerful endurance with which it was Rupert's wont to take the blows of fortune. His friends confessed to each other with alarm that the temperance which, among other good qualities, distinguished him from Goring and Wilmot, had yielded to the cynical sensuality of a man who had given up all true hope in life. But before winter fell Rupert was once more master of himself, and never, amid all the storm of adversity through which he was yet to pass, did he again lose his self-respect.

Marston Moor made Rupert's life a failure, so far as anything so noble fails. His military reputation never recovered, and all that he loved even better than his own fame, the

friends who had always stood by him, the brother whom nothing could part from him, the uncle with whom he had so many lovers' quarrels, all were involved in that common ruin, which in moments of depression he must have suspected to be the work of his own hand. His sensitiveness on this point is pathetically suggested by the fact that, for all the long remaining years of his life, he carried about on his person that letter from Charles which he maintained to be an order to give battle, as a man carries the thing which in all the world touches him the most dearly. He himself had a double share of the cup of bitterness mixed for his whole party on that fatal day. Indeed, life never smiled on him again. The years of pain and poverty, of perpetual fruitless endurance by land and sea, the death of Maurice, the thousand ignominies of a twice-exiled doubly homeless adventurer, are all to be read in Miss Scott's well-told story. And even after the restoration of the Stuarts Rupert had little joy in life. His misfortunes had made him sad and sardonic, though not wicked or cynical; and he regarded with increasing disgust a Court where power was usually obtained by statesmen as unprincipled as Digby, and fashion always set by gentlemen as licentious as Goring. And so, amid public duties performed without ambition, and private activities exercised without pretension, his life passed away sadly, but not ignobly, amid the memory of the better men among whom he had lived in his hot youth and the beautiful old world which had sunk with the dying day off Marston Moor.

But while this battle had ensured the destruction of that fair society which had kindled the ardour of Rupert's early idealism, it did not serve to establish on an enduring basis the principles for which Leven was contending. Indeed, from the moment when he was brought back to the field to find what a victory had been won, he and his cause began to be entangled in that iron net of political difficulties which Cromwell died vainly attempting to break. Leven was too old even to attempt to grapple with it; his ability to direct the current of events seemed gone. This short northern campaign had illustrated better than any that had yet been fought the advantage of loyalty to principles over loyalty to persons; in the south, Essex had himself shown too much of the Oxford spirit of jealousy. But the divided minds of Rupert and Goring, Newcastle and Eythin, who followed the Earl in his flight overseas 'from the laughter of 'the Court,' had not been a match for the intense purpose

of Leven, Cromwell, and Fairfax. When, however, the scale of victory inclined towards the Parliament, this very intensity of purpose began at once to divide as strongly as it had before united. If in public life a principle that is believed like religion binds closer than personal ties, it also divides more irreparably. The petty quarrels of the young men who scowled at each other across the king's council-board, the contempt Rupert felt for Newcastle, and the fear Newcastle felt for Rupert, could never have set them to levy war on each other. Though such rivalry was one of the causes of failure, it would not have marred victory if victory had come. But, on the other hand, since Leven and his friends truly believed that Christ's Covenant, signed publicly by all men, would prove the panacea for England as well as for his own country, while Cromwell believed no less that every man should make his own unsigned covenant with God, the day was not far distant when the victors of Marston Moor should meet again at Dunbar. From that moment there was no longer any real hope of giving a new direction to English history, and of completely rooting out all sacerdotal tendencies from English religion.

But Leven's work was not in vain. He, more than any one man, had helped Scotland to save her national existence and her Covenant to be a Protestant people. Because in Scotland there was only one principle of Puritanism, that one principle became embodied in the national institutions. The fact, of which Carlyle is loud in complaint, that the Scotch Puritans never found a hero to lead them, though it resulted first in Dunbar and then in Bothwell Brig, did not prevent their final victory. In the hour of the first and greatest danger Alexander Leslie had served their needs on Dunse Law. And therefore he will never be forgotten by a people who, though now prosperously scattered over the face of the earth, remain a people still, because their ancestors, when Charles decreed that Scotland should be Scotland no more, gathered themselves together without counting the enemy or thinking on the penalties of treason, against a power which seemed overwhelming, but at day-break vanished like the mist.

- ART. VIII.—1. *An Atlas of Representative Stellar Spectra.* By Sir WILLIAM HUGGINS, K.C.B., and Lady HUGGINS. London: 1899.
2. *Spectra of Southern Stars.* By FRANK McCLEAN, F.R.S. London: 1898.
3. *Comparative Photographic Spectra of Stars to the $3\frac{1}{2}$ Magnitude.* By FRANK McCLEAN, F.R.S. ‘Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society,’ vol. 191. London: 1898.
4. *On the Chemical Classification of the Stars.* By Sir NORMAN LOCKYER, K.C.B. ‘Proceedings of the Royal Society,’ May 4, 1899.
5. *Spectra of Bright Stars photographed with the 11-inch Draper Telescope, and discussed* by ANTONIA C. MAURY. ‘Annals of the Astronomical Observatory of Harvard College,’ vol. xxviii. part 1. Cambridge, U.S.A.: 1897.
6. *Untersuchungen über die Spectra von 528 Sternen.* Von H. C. VOGEL und J. WILSING. ‘Publicationen des astrophysikalischen Observatoriums zu Potsdam,’ Nr. 39. Potsdam: 1899.
7. *Photographs of Stars, Star-Clusters, and Nebulae.* 2 vols. By ISAAC ROBERTS, D.Sc., F.R.S. London: 1894, 1900.

IN the year 1856 Mr. William Huggins equipped an observatory in connexion with his private residence at Tulse Hill. The instruments erected there were of the usual type, and they were for some time employed in the usual way. Transits were duly taken, occultations watched, planetary surfaces scanned and delineated, with no important result save the observer’s gain in technical skill. He was unsatisfied; vague promptings of originality pursued him. Uncertain what direction to take, ‘I sought about in my mind,’ he tells us, ‘for the possibility of research upon the heavens in a new direction, or by new methods.’ New methods were not slow to present themselves. In 1859 Kirchhoff discovered the key to the hieroglyphics of the solar spectrum, and the vast and varied realm of astronomical physics was thrown open for exploration and conquest.

The invention of the prismatic mode of attack upon celestial problems marked a fresh epoch in science. By means of the telescope we learn the direction from which the heavenly bodies send us their light; by means of the spectroscope we learn what kind of light they send us.

The telescope serves for purposes of localisation, the spectro-scope for purposes of analysis. The novel principle thus introduced—that of investigating the nature of self-luminous bodies through the quality of their radiations—goes very deep, and leads very far; it has implications still dim, and consequences still remote; its horizons are indeed illimitable; and they drew onward from the first all the more adventurous spirits in the astronomical camp.

None responded with more alacrity to this *calling of the unknown* than Sir William Huggins (to give him his present title). ‘To apply Kirchhoff’s method to the stars,’ was the ambition that laid hold of him. Under its impulsion he became the founder of sidereal chemistry. It was no easy task that he undertook. Stellar light-analysis strains the resources of human ingenuity, even now that its advance is, so to speak, through a settled country. But in those early days every step was tentative; no tracks had been laid down, no survey executed; it was exploratory work, pure and simple. The difficulties besetting it may be illustrated by the statement that from Vega, one of the three brightest stars in the northern hemisphere, we receive about one forty-thousand-millionth part of the light imparted by the sun. And what was aimed at and substantially attained was to derive from beams thus emaciated by distance and diffusion, information comparable to that afforded by the copious rays of our own splendid luminary. Not a mere superficial inspection of stellar spectra was undertaken, but their thoroughgoing interpretation. Hence special contrivances had to be devised for their comparison with light from terrestrial sources, by which to test the presence in the stars of materials occurring on the earth. At the outset of his investigations Sir William Huggins was aided by Dr. William Allen Miller, Professor of Chemistry in King’s College, London, a man of sound intellect and considerable experimental skill, although lacking the *vis vivida* of his younger colleague. But enthusiasm must have been contagious when ‘nearly every observation revealed a new fact, ‘and almost every night’s work was red-lettered by some ‘discovery.’ Their preliminary results, communicated to the Royal Society in January 1863, ‘established the important, and, at that time, new fact, that all the stars ‘belong to the same order of bodies as our sun, and consist ‘of matter identical, at least in great part, with the ‘chemical substances which form the material of the solar ‘system.’

A pioneer rarely keeps the lead in a second generation as Sir William Huggins has done. We do not, however, propose here to follow the long course of his inquiries, or to enumerate the attendant disclosures. An authentic account of them is contained in the historical section of the admirable volume of which the title is prefixed to this article. It is designed to be the first of a series of publications emanating from the Tulse Hill Observatory; and we can only say that unless by its successors its merits are unlikely to be surpassed. The combination which it presents of artistic beauty with scientific value is, within our experience, unrivalled. From the mere bibliophile's point of view the book is a treasure. Paper, type, binding, are all choice and delightful, while a feature of unique interest is added in the numerous incidental illustrations from Lady Huggins's drawings, forming the headings and initials of the various chapters. They show us the picturesque aspect of the astrophysical scene of action—the wide sky, the trellised porch, the fair garden with its lovelinesses and curiosities, including an armillary sundial more than two centuries old, and a hive for the abode of exemplary bees, austere inscribed 'Nil nisi labore.' But the roses of forty years ago are no more; they have perished, asphyxiated by the insidious approach of mephitic London. And their decease is symptomatic of a deterioration in the transparency of the air. The 'seeing' at Tulse Hill is no longer what it was. From open country the district has passed to the suburban condition; it has consequently forfeited its rural claim to exemption from city fogs, and impracticable nights succeed each other there with exasperating monotony. Yet the temptation to transplant the observatory was most prudently resisted. The gain in such changes is problematical; the sacrifice certain. Habits of work are dislocated; inestimable time is lost; delicate human machines are perhaps deranged, to say nothing of accidents, incalculable in kind, inevitable of occurrence. Truncated careers have too often resulted from observational breaches of continuity, which should accordingly be sedulously avoided except under the '*force majeure*' of necessity.

The results embodied in this volume cover thirty-eight years of uninterrupted progress—of progress in many directions, since the tree planted by Kirchhoff shows its abundant vitality by sending forth suckers and ramifications innumerable. And not a few owe their start to the eminent observer who may be said to have taken all the sidereal

heavens 'for his province.' Not, indeed, to the exclusion of the solar system. He originated the spectroscopic study of the planets; recognised the carbonaceous nature of comets; anticipated the prismatic method of observing prominences at the sun's edge, first realised by Janssen and Lockyer; and invented, in 'daylight coronal photography,' a plan of research which may yet prove one of the most effective weapons in the armoury of solar physicists. The discovery of gaseous nebulae falls into line with the main trend of his activity, no less than his momentous application of the spectroscope in 1868 to determine the radial or 'line of sight' velocities of the stars. Our immediate concern, however, is with his work in photographing stellar spectra. He was the first to attempt the task; he was the first to succeed systematically with it; his skill in its execution has never been surpassed. The magnificent 'Atlas' just issued by him—the designation emphasises the fundamental importance of the graphical section of the volume—bears unimpeachable testimony to this skill. Nor to his alone. The name of Lady Huggins appears on the title-page, and it has a significance there which only a minority of readers can fully penetrate. Since 1875 she has been, on equal terms, her husband's coadjutor, and while content to merge her initiative in his, she has known how to make its effect and influence tell as essential factors in the joint product of their labours. Apportionment of credit would be equally invidious and impossible. Suffice it to say that all belongs, in the truest and deepest sense, to each.

'Spectrography' is the complement to spectroscopy. The examination of spectra through the medium of the camera does not supersede, but essentially completes, their direct observation, the 'chemical retina' being mainly affected by impressions to which the eye is blind. Invisible, like visible, light is subject to specific absorption by interposed vapours or gases, and thus comes to us from the stars variously inscribed with signs of determinate meaning. But the messages are shrouded and inaccessible to sight. They can only be read by the use of a sixth sense, the organ of which is the sensitive plate. Autographically printed they become legible, while, apart from some such intermediary process, they should remain for ever unread, and their content of knowledge undivulged. Hence the urgent necessity for the developement of the new method.

It is applicable besides to a considerable part of the visible spectrum, and can, by certain modifications, be rendered

applicable to the whole. And, even in direct competition with the eye, it asserts a superiority scarcely qualified by some minor drawbacks. Visual impressions are evanescent; the memory may play fast and loose with them. Photographic records are permanent; they can be measured at leisure, consulted again and again, and examined at long intervals, for the resolution of questions that had not yet arisen when they were obtained. They are, moreover, objectively true; they escape the influence of subjective bias and personal error, and largely eliminate the effects of air tremors that baffle the eye in its efforts to interpret delicate spectral details.

Sir William Huggins's adoption, in 1875, of dry gelatine plates secured the future of celestial photography. For, by their substitution for the wet collodion plates previously employed, indefinite lengths of exposure became feasible, and the accumulative faculty of silver-bromide gained free scope. More, however, was needed for the satisfactory registration of the long range of ultra-violet light waves. Glass strongly absorbs them; it had therefore to be abolished in the special apparatus constructed for their analysis. A reflecting telescope with metallic specula replaced the customary refractor as the agent for their concentration; Iceland-spar prisms and quartz lenses—substances transparent to excessively short undulations—served for their dispersion and transmission. Star spectra of unprecedented actinic extension were by these means delineated, and proved highly characteristic, especially those of 'white stars,' like Vega and Sirius; for in them, on a brilliant background, a set of strong dark lines stood out, disposed in a definite harmonic order, at intervals narrowing continuously upward. Unmistakeably sequential to the four visible hydrogen rays, they formed with them the first recognised spectral series. That it should have been discovered in the stars is one of the most curious facts in scientific history.

A spectral series is a group of ethereal vibrations connected by a numerical law so definite that from the wave lengths of the first pair those of all the others can be inferred. They occupy places in the spectrum strictly calculable and surely occupied. A gap in their rhythmical progression is wellnigh unthinkable. Crowds of such series, belonging to a variety of chemical substances, are now known. Their occurrence is evidently rooted deep among the essentials of molecular structure and movement. They hold the keys to baffling enigmas; their study engages the attention of

experts; their explanation fascinates the assiduous thoughts of profound speculators. And this fresh start in terrestrial physics, so full of promise, so strangely suggestive, was due to the spectrographic impression of a hydrogen-star! Who could have ventured the forecast?

In the paper containing this announcement, presented to the Royal Society in December 1879,* Sir William Huggins essayed an 'evolutional' arrangement of the stars on grounds supplied by his photographs; he recurred to the topic in his address as President of the British Association in 1891, and it is treated of with some fulness in his recent work. That sidereal bodies run through some course of developement is undeniable. They undergo 'life changes' due to 'the gradual diminution, terminating in total extinction, of their "vital force," as expressed by their 'temperature, actual and potential.'† Stars are cooling bodies. They continually and lavishly expend energy in the form of radiation, and no agency apparently exists by which any appreciable part of it can be restored. They pursue accordingly a downward slope towards darkness, which is the death of suns. No arrest of decay is possible.

• 'Noctes atque dies patet atri janua Ditis.'

The difficulty is to determine the successive gradations by which they descend thither. Here authorities are at variance. Some attribute comparative youth to classes of stars held by others to be verging on decrepitude; the order of progression laid down by one investigator is inverted by the next; there is total disagreement as to which are the 'hottest' stars. In a subject so new and complex, unanimity of opinion, it is true, could scarcely be expected; yet needless divergences have arisen through the neglect of some obvious principles adverted to by our present authors. Under their guidance, a few broad conclusions are, we believe, safely within reach; although many frontier problems remain, which we should vainly attempt to solve by a speculative *coup de main*. Formal approaches must be made to them by the regular methods of experimental attack.

The four spectral types, defined some thirty-five years ago by Father Secchi, still prescribe the main outlines of stellar classification. They have been variously and

* Phil. Trans. vol. clxxi. p. 669.

† Huggins, 'Atlas of Spectra' p. 67.

minutely subdivided ; but their large correspondence with facts remains unaltered. We may briefly remind our readers of their distinctive peculiarities.* The first type consists of white stars, with strongly absorbent hydrogen atmospheres (Sirius, Vega, Rigel, are examples) ; the second, of solar stars, in which fine metallic rulings are prominent ; the third, of red stars like Antares and Betelgeux, showing banded spectra of undetermined chemical origin ; the fourth, of *redder* stars, their photospheres closely veiled by carbon vapours. This mode of grouping, then, remains essentially fixed ; and has proved a help, rather than a hindrance, towards the evaluation of minor differences. One of these is especially important. It depends upon the representation of helium in stellar spectra, and establishes an unmistakable partition within the first type between 'Orion' and 'Sirian' stars (as they may be conveniently designated). In the former kind, which prevails almost exclusively in the constellation Orion, helium displays conspicuous dark lines ; in the latter, patterned by Sirius, they are scarcely, if at all, perceptible. In the solar spectrum, as is well known, helium makes no sign, notwithstanding the profusion with which it occurs in the solar vicinity ; so that its disappearance from Sirian spectra does not imply its absence from Sirian atmospheres.

Now 'helium' or Orion stars merge imperceptibly into Sirians, Sirian into solar, solar into 'Antarian' stars.† There is no gap in the ranks ; no line of demarcation can be drawn between them. These four great stellar orders are linked together by small marginal variations into a chain that cannot be broken. Their arrangement points obviously to continuous progression. But the progression might conceivably be in either direction—forward, from white to red suns, or backward, from red to white. We have, then, to seek out some trustworthy criterion by which to distinguish the beginning from the end of the long process of stellar development. Looking at the matter in its wider bearings, we find two such available.

One hundred and nine years ago, the conviction that nebulae are inchoate stars was forced upon Herschel by the irresistible logic of the eye. He met with them in every stage of condensation ; he met with stars provided with

* See No. 312 of this Journal, p. 415.

† To borrow Sir Norman Lockyer's convenient designation for third-type stars. *Nature*, May 18, 1899.

every form of nebular appurtenance. His experience, and the conclusion founded upon it, have since been amply confirmed. The 'lucid matter' of space is neither more nor less than *star-spawn*. Small compact nebulae—those called 'planetary' among others—may give rise to single stars; while great nebulae seem to be nurseries of entire stellar systems. Striking evidence to this effect is adduced by Dr. Roberts in the fine work the title of which is quoted among the headings of this article. His argument is pictorial. The perpetual recurrence, in all quarters of the sky, of curves and lines of equal stars, regularly interspaced, is attested by his plates; he next points to similar configurations, likewise self-delineated, of stars just connected by thin threads of nebulous matter; finally, to corresponding arrangements of nebulous nodules along the structural groovings of vast hazy formations; and draws the plausible inference that such nodules are embryo stars, which grow by consuming, and eventually survive, the nebulae they are embedded in. And this Herschelian method of demonstration by the continuity of instances gains much stringency through the substitution of photographic for visual comparisons.

We may here pause momentarily to congratulate Dr. Roberts on his achievements in celestial photography during the last fifteen years. His leading aim has been the portrayal of nebulae, and his results, published in two quarto volumes, dated 1894 and 1900 respectively, are a triumph of steady persistence over climatic disadvantages and discouragements. They are noteworthy for what they comprehend no less than for what they exhibit and disclose. They may, indeed, be said to initiate that photographic survey of the nebular heavens which will doubtless be carried out to completion in the twentieth century. What it will amount to can be gathered from the estimate of one hundred and twenty thousand as the number of nebulae lying within the photographic grasp of the three-foot Crossley reflector, lately mounted at the Lick Observatory in California. This instrument is of the same type as that in use at Crowborough, but greatly exceeds it in light-gathering power.

To resume. Since stars develop out of nebulae, those with patent nebular relationships must be still in the formative era of existence. Their spectra, accordingly, belong to the earliest type. And it proves to be of the 'Orion' pattern. Helium-absorption seems invariably to

characterise stars just emerging from the nebular matrix. As examples we may take the Pleiades, the entanglement of which in nebulae of all sorts and conditions is one of the most singular revelations of the camera. Nearly all the Orion brilliants, too, have nebular attachments, more or less close and obvious. The famous nebula in the Sword-handle is only the nucleus of a formation embracing wellnigh the entire asterism. Of prodigious extent and complexity, it constitutes a subordinate universe still partially chaotic. Within its compass, however, some luminous vortices have 'edded into suns'—such colossal suns as Rigel, Bellatrix, and the three in the Belt—the light of which, in Professor Pickering's opinion, probably takes a thousand years to reach us. Some of the Orion stars make local centres of concentration, and own individual misty appendages, while the nebulous affinities of others are more general and less visually apparent; but that stars and nebulae here combine to form a system on a prodigious scale, and of inconceivable organisation, can admit of no manner of doubt. And the stars are of the helium variety. So much for the application of our first criterion.

That of the second is less easy, but leads virtually to the same conclusion. The principle involved is thus laid down by Sir William and Lady Huggins:—

'Successive evolutionary stages of a star's life in the order of their sequence,' they write, 'must clearly be along the line of changes which a star passes through in consequence of the gradual exhaustion of its original store of energy by radiation. In a classification of stars, that type of star must come first which we have reason to believe to be the most diffuse, or, in other words, in the stage in which condensation is least advanced. Relative density, as representing relative richness in potential energy, should be taken as the guiding principle of a natural system of classification. It seems clear that the earliest stars are not to be regarded as the hottest.' ('Atlas of Spectra,' p. 76.)

Nothing in cosmical history is, in truth, more certain than that luminous bodies condense with the efflux of time. For the steady pull of gravity compels the mutual approach of their particles, as the resistant energy imparted to them by heat is slowly squandered by radiation. Two forces are pitted against each other, one unwasting, its opponent unrecuperative. 'Dissipation of energy' appears, to our limited apprehension, to be the law of the universe, and *pari passu* with its advance gravity infallibly gains the upper hand. Thus our sun was assuredly more tenuous a million years ago, and will assuredly be more compact a

million years hence, than it is now. And the same may be said of every star in the heavens. We cannot, of course, infer an individual star to be younger than another merely because it is specifically lighter, since primitive differences of constitution might largely modify single results. But if we find a low mean density to be a distinguishing feature of a class of stars, we may securely conclude that the objects it comprises are near the outset of their careers as radiators.

Now stellar eclipses afford a ready means of fixing, at any rate an upper limit to the density of the bodies undergoing them. Their specific gravity—so to call it—cannot exceed, although it may fall short of, a certain assigned value. This value proves to be extremely small. ‘Algol-variables,’ taken all round, are of less than one quarter the solar density; and the sun is but slightly heavier than an equally large globe of water, notwithstanding its metallic constitution and the tremendous pressure of its voluminous strata. Transcendent internal temperature is thus indicated.

A word about eclipsing stars. They are recognised as such by the sudden failures of light which overtake them at regular intervals of a few days or hours, while outside of these ‘minima’ they shine with sensible constancy. Each thus shows itself to be a close binary system, revolving very nearly in our visual plane. And here the spectroscope comes in most opportunely to ratify what had already been less directly asserted by the photometer. For by its means the progress is demonstrated of radial movements corresponding exactly to those assumed on the theory of occultations. Algol, in the head of Medusa, is the model of the class, which now includes nearly a score of members. It has a period of revolution of less than three days. Its eclipses occupy about ten hours, and they are produced by the interposition of a dark globe almost the size of our sun. In other cases a combination of two *bright* globes gives rise to similar, but easily distinguishable effects. The more attentively, in short, these wonderful objects are studied, the more various and interesting are found to be their characteristic phenomena.

They are marked out as in an early stage of growth, not only by their diffuseness, but also—should the views advanced by Dr. See, of Washington, prove sound—by the shortness of their circulatory periods. If double stars originate by the cleavage of a single primitive mass, and

separate through the reactive effects of tidal friction, then the most nearly contiguous are the youngest. To this category Algol-variables obviously belong; moreover, all, so far as present knowledge extends, give first-type spectra, and the two most closely scrutinised—those of Algol and λ Tauri—are included in the Orion division. And, remarkably enough, just these couples have, according to the recent calculations of Mr. H. M. Russell,* a mean density practically the same, and only one-seventh that of water. Air compressed to one-hundredth of its ordinary volume would fairly represent their average consistence. The circumstance is surely significant that just the two helium stars amenable to a determinate test should prove to be of such extreme tenuity. The inference of a primitive condition for this stellar class, arrived at on other grounds, is, then, so far ratified, and may be admitted without hesitation.

This suffices to establish a starting-point from which the procession of types advances, with a certain inevitableness, through the ages. Not but that incidental modifications must arise; but they do not affect the general character of the changes supervening through slow cooling and contraction. These, as already stated, lead without a break, by subtle gradations, from Orion to Sirian and solar stars, and onward to the Antarian family. In Sir William Huggins's words:

‘The white stars, which are the most numerous, represent the early adult and most persistent stage of stellar life, the solar condition that of maturity and commencing age, while in the orange and the red stars we see the setting-in and advance of old age.’†

Here we are brought to a halt. Many stars with banded spectra—Antares, Betelgeux, γ Crucis—shine splendidly, despite the vaporous veils that impede and redden their beams. They are vastly, if not immeasurably, remote, and must hence be regarded as suns much more potent than our own. Assuredly no shadow of coming extinction has as yet fallen upon them. Yet it cannot be far off. How, it may be asked, are we to recognise its approach? What are the symptoms of actual stellar decadence? The conjecture may be hazarded that ‘long-period variables’ supply the missing link with totally dark stars. These extraordinary objects are characterised by banded spectra of both varieties; they hibernate in obscurity usually during

* Astrophysical Journal, December 1899, p. 317.

† Report Brit. Association, 1891, p. 12.

several months, then flare up to a maximum, increasing perhaps hundreds of times in lustre, and finally subside back into inactivity. Mira Ceti, the first recognised periodical star, vividly exemplifies this strange and inexplicable mode of behaviour, and it must be admitted that it has so far given no sign of failing vitality. But an acquaintance of two centuries is but momentary, estimated on the cosmic time-scale. Changes so extreme as those undergone by 'Mira-variables' appear, indeed, destined to be transitory, and already one among them has, under the attentive eyes of American astronomers, ceased from its customary outbursts. 'T Ophiuchi' lies low at a permanent minimum; it will probably never again be seen to hang burnished in the sky. Its example lends countenance to the suggestion (which we do not claim as original) that variability preludes the final quenching of light.

Since stars are cooling bodies, it might seem like a truism to assert that their temperature runs down continuously from beginning to end of their careers. Yet the truism would be untrue. Gaseous masses, in point of fact, gain by contraction more heat than they lose by radiation. The principle upon which this curious result depends was made known in 1870 by Homer Lane, an American physicist. Whether or not the sun still conforms to it is a moot point. The more probable view appears to be that it has passed beyond the purely gaseous condition, in which case its thermal receipts no longer balance its expenditure. But the deficit, if deficit there be, is small. No rapid decline, and certainly no appreciable increase, of heat is in progress. Such a condition of approximate equilibrium implies a maximum temperature. The sun never was, and never will be, much hotter than it is now. This significant conclusion was arrived at by Ritter eighteen years ago, and it is confirmed by photographic evidence of greater intrinsic brilliancy in solar than in white stars, now unexpectedly adduced by Sir William and Lady Huggins.

'The photospheric radiation of the solar stars,' they say, 'must be more intense than that of the white stars, which come nearest to them in brightness as estimated by the eye, for the solar stars are relatively at an enormous disadvantage. They may be compared respectively to a sunlit sky as darkly perceived through a Venetian blind, and the same sky pouring its light through a window having no other obstruction than the narrow bars between the panes. In the solar stars, the light of the photosphere can only filter to us between the dark lines of a very close absorption-screen, a screen of so close a grating that

Rowland's map of the solar spectrum contains no fewer than some 20,000 dark lines, each of which intercepts a portion of the light of the photosphere. .'. . Now what is true of the very restricted part of the star's radiation which can be perceived by the eye, is so, even in a greater degree, of the violet and ultra-violet parts of the spectrum.' ('Atlas of Spectra,' p. 80.)

The strength of this ultimate region, moreover, is distinctively symptomatic of an elevated temperature. The radiative centre of gravity shifts upward with thermal exaltation. If this criterion be accepted, 'we should have to 'consider Procyon,' our authors continue,

'as at a hotter stage than Vega, and that the highest stage of temperature is reached in the true solar stage, of which Capella is typical. Then a fall of temperature sets in, as shown in the advancing enfeeblement of this part of the spectrum in Arcturus, Betelgeux, and Aldebaran.' (P. 85.)

Their arguments, although materially reinforced by their plates, will not, we imagine, be very readily admitted. A counter-stream of opinion runs, just at present, very strong. Professor Scheiner, of Potsdam, alleged in 1894* certain facts connected with the spectrum of magnesium as demonstrating Sirian and solar stars to be superficially hotter than solar and Antarian stars. And Sir Norman Lockyer's researches on the 'enhanced lines' of iron and other substances have been similarly interpreted. The term 'enhancement,' it should be explained, is used by him in this connexion to signify the relative gain in brightness of certain metallic rays with augmented electrical excitement.† They come out prominently in white stars, while their associates, which thrive best under moderate laboratory conditions, characterise yellow and red stars. To the former, accordingly, as the general upshot of these and analogous inquiries, a temperature is assigned not very different from that of the electric spark; to the latter, the considerably lower one, as it is supposed to be, of the electric arc. The difference, although undetermined and at present indeterminable, has an estimated range of several thousand centigrade degrees.

But the problem cannot thus be solved offhand. It may, indeed, be regarded as established that early stellar conditions correspond in some degree with those prevailing where a high-tension current of electricity leaps from electrode to electrode, while in the atmospheres of later stars the state

* 'Sitzungsberichte der preuss. Akad.,' März 1894.

† *The Sun's Place in Nature*, pp. 294 *et seq.*

of things dominant in the arc is more nearly reproduced. But the question remains whether variations of temperature are solely, or even chiefly, responsible for the observed spectral diversity. Sir William and Lady Huggins strongly hold the negative view.

‘It is well known,’ they write, ‘that the most salient spectral differences of different classes of stars depend, in great part, upon different conditions of intensity and of breadth in a few lines of the same substances. Further, it is upon the conditions under which similar states of the lines can be artificially produced in the laboratory that we have to base the views we form of the state of things existing in the different stars.

‘Now, the two main conditions of radiating and of absorbing gases which affect largely the characters of their spectra are those of temperature and of density. Unfortunately, in laboratory work it is generally difficult to distinguish the effects which are due to temperature from those brought about by differences of density. Experimentally, it is often scarcely possible to alter one of these conditions without at the same time introducing a change in the other. It is not easy, therefore, to avoid falling into the mistake of attributing to a change of temperature an alteration in the spectrum which is really due to a change of density.’ (‘Atlas of Spectra,’ p. 89)

They speak with authority, for they succeeded, in 1897, in proving experimentally that changes affecting the spectrum of calcium, previously attributed to a raising of the heat-level, actually ensue upon a reduction of density in the emitting vapour; and they have further

‘reason to suspect that some analogous modifications which are well known in the spectra of magnesium and iron, and which have been considered as criteria of temperature, will be found, like those of calcium, to furnish indications mainly of states of density.’ (‘Atlas of Spectra,’ p. 91.)

If so, then the progressive changes in stellar spectral types cannot be accepted as *thermometric* indications. They depend rather upon the advancing condensation of stellar atmospheres. This, however, is retarded by increasing heat. And so temperature, ejected from the primary position allotted to it, takes up another of far from negligible importance. ‘Driven out at the door, it comes in at the ‘window.’ Nevertheless, as our authors insist, the main regulating power appertains to gravity. The incandescent vapours enveloping suns are kept by it from indefinite diffusion. Any addition to its effectiveness entails, *cæteris paribus*, their increased concentration. And its effectiveness rapidly augments as the globes exerting it contract. The sun, when its diameter has shrunk to one-half its

present length, will possess a quadrupled surface-gravity; a ninefold value will correspond to a diameter of one-third, and so on. The contraction of a Sirian into a solar star involved, then, a compression of the absorbing layers producing the dark lines in its spectrum, quite likely to be accompanied by alterations of their relative intensities; while a concomitant and powerful cause of change was found in the quickened atmospheric circulation similarly due to the augmentation of superficial gravity. The primitively simple composition of stellar envelopes was thus replaced by marked heterogeneity; hydrogen and helium no longer floated serenely alone; they were churned up with glowing metallic gases to form the mixed stratum showing the complex 'flash spectrum' at the beginning and end of solar eclipses. To this growth in heterogeneity the gradual enfeeblement and final disappearance of helium-absorption in aging stars may, with great probability, be attributed.

Gravity is accordingly a potent factor in determining stellar types. But its gain of power in a single body, shrinking millennium by millennium into a smaller compass, has not alone to be considered. It varies enormously between star and star. How, it may be asked, does diversity of mass act in producing spectral diversity? The answer universally given is that massiveness delays developement—that a giant sun runs, indeed, through the same course as its lesser fellows, but at a much slower rate. Its time-allowance is supposed to be commensurate with its magnitude. This would be certainly true if temperature, as the current view assumes, prescribed the pace, since there can be no doubt that among coeval stars the most massive are necessarily the hottest. According to Ritter, 'the surface temperatures of two stars of equal densities are to each other nearly as the square roots of their masses.'* Professor Perry has lately reached an analogous, though not an identical, conclusion.† Sir William and Lady Huggins express no dissent. Indeed, they tacitly accept the corollary drawn from it, that the developement of radiating globes undergoes delay proportionate to the quantity of matter they contain. But this appears to us to involve needless difficulties. The spectra of double stars, for instance, present, thus looked at, intolerable anomalies.

The members of binary systems are virtual contem-

* *Astrophysical Journal*, vol. viii. p. 307.

† *Nature*, July 13, 1899.

poraries. Their separate existence may even date from the very same instant. Spectral dissimilarities cannot, accordingly, be explained in them by literal differences of age. Nor are they likely to originate in chemical diversity, the stars being chips from the same block. Their study, then, just because change is reduced by their strict conditions to its elements, is of prime importance to our present subject.

Double stars considerably unequal in light are often markedly unlike in colour. These contrasted pairs, beautifully exemplified by Albireo (β Cygni) in the beak of the Swan, are among the most exquisite of telescopic objects. Nor are they simply a delight to the eye. Their tints are no unmeaning kaleidoscopic display. They are apportioned systematically, and for deep-lying reasons. It is a fixed rule that, where prismatic light is contrasted, the more refrangible share falls to the lesser star. The 'predominant' partner being yellow or reddish, its attendant is blue or green; and this is the more remarkable from the total absence of blue or green stars elsewhere than in chromatic combinations. Moreover, they give corresponding spectra. Sir William and Lady Huggins, who have made this branch of inquiry peculiarly their own, show that the redder and more powerful light-source is solar or Antarian, while the bluish satellite is Sirian in quality. In other words, the large star has progressed further in evolution than the small star. But, by the received opinion, the greater mass necessarily traverses its curriculum more slowly than the smaller coupled with it. Nor can it be argued that the proportion of mass reverses the proportion of brightness—that the fainter object may be the weightier body. All the evidence at command, direct and indirect, goes to prove exactly the opposite. White stars undoubtedly contain the minimum of matter relatively to light. Sirius itself, the magnificent Dog-star, shines as fifty suns, and gravitates as two. The areal brilliancy of Algol is, by a strictly moderate estimate, seventy times that of our sun. Computations based on the revolutions of binary systems—computations derived from the statistics of stellar distribution—agree in proving orbs of the first type to be more conspicuous through radiation than powerful in attraction. This being so, we have no alternative but to reject as erroneous the current view as to the comparative rate of stellar developement.

The truth seems to be that mass has an accelerative

rather than a retardative influence. Of two unequal suns, emerging simultaneously from a nebulous condition, the larger effects the more rapid passage from type to type. The phenomena of double stars demonstrate that this is so. The principles enunciated by our authors convince us that it *must* be so; for spectral characteristics depend fundamentally upon certain correlations of temperature with gravity, and the solar condition is reached when contraction has gone far enough to produce a given strength of surface gravity combined with a not overmastering degree of heat. Now, in a large mass these conditions will be fulfilled with comparative promptitude; in a small mass much more tardily. The former displays a solar spectrum countless ages before the latter has ceased to shine with Sirian light. Here, we believe, resides the solution of the problem offered by coloured star-pairs. And it is fortified by the hitherto unexplained circumstance that solar stars, whether single or double, are, on the whole, built on a more imposing scale than luminaries less mature and more diffuse. What had looked like a formidable difficulty thus turns out to be a pertinent verification of the thesis we are endeavouring to support, and of the broad scheme of evolution proposed in the sumptuous volume before us.

Regarding the masses of stars with banded spectra we have no direct information. From various tokens, however, we can gather that they are mostly very great. Red suns must actually emit an enormous quantity of light; first, because their immobility proves them to be excessively remote; secondly, because their radiations are so extensively encroached upon by absorption that they seem far less intense than they really are. Yet, since they proceed from globes well advanced in condensation, the quantity of included matter must be relatively large. They are, however, not unfrequently accompanied by small Sirian stars, so that in their case, again, developement has obviously been quickened by the preponderance of gravity. Otherwise their connexion with objects in a primitive stage would be wholly inexplicable.

Surveying the situation, we may finally conclude helium stars to be the immediate progeny of nebulae. Their acquisition of a photosphere—the specialised organ of radiation—definitely marks the transition. How this is accomplished cannot easily be conjectured; enough that the possession of such a shining integument distinctively marks a sun. From helium stars, as we have seen, Sirians

insensibly develope; from Sirian stars, solar; from solar, Antarian luminaries. The links are never broken; the steps never omitted; no short ways are practicable. Solar stars cannot, apparently, spring straight from nebulae; Antarian are never derived from Sirian stars. The law of transformation is strict; grub, pupa, and imago succeed each other with scarcely more inevitableness than do the stellar varieties. An 'order of nature' has plainly in each case to be obeyed.

There are, it is true, outlying groups, the genetic relations of which remain obscure. But this is only what might have been expected. Sooner or later, Nature is sure to break through the trammels of routine. In all her operations a certain exuberance is visible. They cannot be regulated by the iron drill which our narrow conceptions would impose upon them. Freedom must be allowed for the unfolding of creative resources. Their affluence, indeed, is often such as to baffle speculation. The 'carbon-stars,' for instance, have not so far been satisfactorily adjusted to any evolutionary system. They originated probably under special conditions. Father Secchi's early observations of thin bright lines in their spectra have been lately confirmed by a striking set of photographs taken by Professor Hale with the Yerkes 40-inch refractor. No chemical interpretation has been found for these peculiar rays, and they seem independent of the absorption-bands, which emphatically assert the presence of carbon in some shape. Iron, calcium, sodium, and magnesium contribute besides to a spectrum of dusky lines, distinct from those of bands and bright lines, and perhaps, *regionally*, far apart from them. These stars, owing to the heavy toll levied on their blue light, are extremely red; some glow like carbuncles in the dark telescopic field. They are, moreover, eminently variable, both irregularly and periodically. Professor Vogel co-ordinates them with the Antarian class, throwing open for the descent of suns to 'cold obstruction' either of these alternative routes. Sir Norman Lockyer, on the contrary, places the two varieties as widely asunder as possible, the Antarians at the very outset, the carbon stars close by the terminus of stellar life. Sir William and Lady Huggins refrain, for the present, from expressing any opinion on the subject. To us, one thing seems clear. Banded spectra, in a broad sense, go together. They represent, to some extent, corresponding epochs of growth. If one kind of red stars are immature, the other kind are assuredly not decrepit.

Similarity in colour, in light-change, in generic spectral character, unite in testifying to their affinity. We cannot, then, but regard as entirely inadmissible the supposition that Antarian stars are the most diffuse, carbon stars the most condensed of sunlike bodies. They do not, indeed, merge together; they can scarcely be related by descent; they represent, in all likelihood, collateral branches of the sidereal family. Antarians, as we have seen, may be regarded as solar stars past their prime; but where are we to find the progenitors of carbon stars? No safe answer presents itself; for only by a hazardous conjecture can they be identified among the 'Wolf-Rayet' class.

Three small stars were noticed as spectroscopic curiosities by MM. Wolf and Rayet at the Paris Observatory in 1867. Their light, when dispersed by a prism,* was perceived to consist in large measure of a blue and a yellow band; and the trio formed the nucleus of a battalion now raised to a strength of nearly one hundred. Limited to the Milky Way and the analogous formations known as the Magellanic Clouds, they tend to collect in groups, like clumps of flowers along the banks of a stream; as if special celestial soils or aspects were needed for their thriving. None vary sensibly in brightness; none are known to be double or multiple; and all emit fundamentally the same quality of light. Few are visible to the naked eye, and only one conspicuously so. This is the glorious γ Argûs, one of the notabilia of the southern hemisphere, its spectrum ablaze with azure and gold. Now, some of the Wolf-Rayet lines match in position those of the bright rays in carbon stars; and the connexion, although slight, may prove significant. It deserves, at any rate, careful investigation.

To planetary nebulae, on the other hand, Wolf-Rayet stars are spectroscopically quite closely akin. Yet even here the part of Hamlet, so to speak, is omitted. There are no *nebulum*-rays in the stars; they are predominant in the nebulae. Nor are the stars visibly nebulous. They come to a sharp focus on a clear sky-ground, although the spectroscope has shown one of them to be enwrapt in a vast hydrogen envelope.* A genetic bond may, nevertheless, subsist. For every 'planetary' includes a central star, destined to grow, presumably, by absorption of its misty surroundings. On the exhaustion of this pabulum should ensue the disappearance of its characteristic green rays,

* Detected in 1893 by Professor Campbell of the Lick Observatory.

while the surviving light would be purely stellar. It might very well be of the Wolf-Rayet quality; but there must be a suspension of judgement in the matter until spectrograms of nebular nuclei can be produced in evidence; and they are obtainable only with two or three of the largest telescopes in the world. •

One feature of the Wolf-Rayet stars is too profoundly significant to be passed over in silence. Their spectra include a second series of hydrogen lines. These are unknown in the laboratory; the resources of chemical art are unavailing to éduce them; they remain, so far, entirely exotic, and strange to terrestrial experience. Discovered by Professor Pickering in 1896, they may fitly be designated the 'Pickering Series,' to distinguish them from the 'Huggins Series,' first spectrographically observed in white stars. The common origin of the two sets is assured by the linked structure of the formulæ representing their 'wave numbers.' It is absolutely unmistakeable. Absorption by cosmic hydrogen shows, besides, in a few early Orion stars, either still nebulous, like the multiple object θ Orionis, at the core of the 'Fish-mouth' nebula (a fine spectrograph of which is included in the Tulse Hill Atlas), or open to vehement suspicion of nebular proclivities. The conditions implicated can only be guessed at; they may be chemical, thermal, electrical, or magnetic; no means are at hand by which to decide. •

This is not the only recent discovery of interest in primitive celestial chemistry. The foundation of the Isaac Newton Studentship at Cambridge, and the donation of a splendid astro-photographic apparatus to the Royal Observatory at the Cape, attest Mr. Frank McClean's zeal for science less effectively than his own personal exertions. The unique distinction belongs to him of having spectrographically surveyed the entire heavens. He employed for the purpose the 'objective-prism method,' which economises light, and abolishes the 'slit' with its manipulative difficulties. There are, indeed, drawbacks to these advantages; but we cannot here stop to discuss them. Suffice it to say that, transporting his great prism to the Cape, and mounting it there in front of a refracting telescope equivalent to that in his observatory at Tunbridge Wells, he finished on a uniform plan the formidable task of recording single-handed the spectra of all the stars in the sky down to $3\frac{1}{2}$ magnitude. The ensuing publications, which include valuable sets of plates reproduced directly from his negatives, are named at

the head of this article; and their distinguished merit was last year recognised by the award of the Royal Astronomical Society's Gold Medal. Among the results may be specified as of leading importance: First, Mr. McClean's conclusion for an evolutionary stellar arrangement substantially identical with that expounded in the foregoing pages. Secondly, his demonstration of the strong sway exercised over the distribution of helium stars by the Milky Way, especially in the southern hemisphere. Thirdly, and chiefly, the detection of oxygen as an ingredient of stellar atmospheres.

Oxygen is pre-eminently the vital element. By its ceaseless activity the round of life is maintained. There is no breathing, there is no burning without it. The competitive affinities for it of other elements, their cravings for union with it, form the mainspring of organic chemistry. Its geological function is of no less moment. Almost half, by weight, of the earth's superficial crust consists of oxygen; eight-ninths of the ocean; two-sevenths of the atmosphere. Thus the original supply must have been enormous. Not only were the avid demands of an incalculable quantity of silicon, calcium, magnesium, carbon, and hydrogen satisfied from it, but there remained free a copious store as a reserve for special purposes. It is curious to reflect how completely they would have been frustrated had there been none to spare. If all the available oxygen had been burnt up with hydrogen, life as we know it could never have existed on our planet. The presence of a surplus was a condition *sine quâ non* of its possibility. The mere equivalence of the two gases must have hopelessly blighted the larger prospects of terrestrial vitality. These accordingly depended upon adjustments of a kind far from obviously necessary, which cannot, without extreme temerity, be asserted to have been brought about in other globes.

Until lately, cosmic oxygen eluded research. Fallacious identifications of its distinctive lines in the solar spectrum were, indeed, announced from time to time, and were successively consigned, as pseudo-discoveries, to the lumber-room of astronomical history. Finally, in 1896, MM. Runge and Paschen* found a genuine, although a barely noticeable coincidence. Far down in the red, three Fraunhofer lines, *not* of telluric production, precisely reverse an oxygen triplet. But this is a mere remnant of the oxygen inscriptions in certain stars. Mr. McClean first recognised them in his

* Astrophysical Journal, vol. iv. p. 317.

spectrographs of those of the helium class, notably of β Crucis; then, less easily, in γ Argûs, the Wolf-Rayet *lucida*. The discovery has been appropriately confirmed by Dr. Gill's initial experiments with the new McClean instrument;* and obtained an independent certificate in Sir William and Lady Huggins's spectrogram of β Lyræ† showing oxygen-lines more refrangible than any impressed on the McClean plates; while their further notice of absorbent action by nitrogen in the spectra of Rigel and Bellatrix (typical helium stars) extended almost to completeness the representation of our atmospheric gases in the suns of space. Nitrogen is not *visibly* a solar constituent;‡ and oxygen, as we have just intimated, can barely be reckoned as such. Both substances, in fact, like helium, and hydrogen in the 'cosmic' state, characterise the *youngest* stars. Stellar evidence of the association of argon with nitrogen, so curiously manifested terrestrially, may yet be forthcoming.

A group of unsurpassed interest remains to be noticed—that formed by the 'bright-line helium stars.' The shifting of vivid rays in stellar spectra is the outcome of conditions probably by no means uniform. They are present normally in carbon stars; they emerge in connexion with the luminous surgings of 'Mira-variables;' they exist, sub-sensibly, in the sun itself; but reach their acme in nascent globes. Early bright-line stars, apart from those of the Wolf-Rayet variety, are essentially of the 'Orion' stamp. They display mixed spectra, due to absorption by hydrogen and helium, sometimes by oxygen and nitrogen as well, combined with emissions from hydrogen, helium, and even from glowing metallic vapours. That singular object β Lyræ, variable in thirteen days; 'P Cygni,' a star with an historical *Sturm und Drang* period; and γ Cassiopeiæ, a perfectly steady radiator, are fine specimens of the class. But it is exemplified in a still more extraordinary manner by such 'blaze stars' as Nova Aurigæ, shown by spectrographic surveys to be no uncommon apparitions among the lower stellar ranks. Among the Pleiades, Alcyone and Pleione give out hydrogen rays, possibly as a survival of a state of incandescence once prevalent throughout the cluster. Yet this is highly uncertain. The feature, although congenital and

* Astrophysical Journal, vol. x. p. 272.

† Astronomische Nachrichten, No. 3583.

- ‡ Negative spectroscopic evidence affords no ground for inferring the physical absence of the luminously inactive substance.

likely to be transient; developed, there is reason to think, only exceptionally. The circumstances attending its origin are very imperfectly understood, but form an inviting subject of research. Bright-line spectra contain a great variety of suggestive detail. The rays in them are often displaced, and not by radial motion; they are occasionally 'multiple and manifold,' each a structure built of complex reversals, dark and bright alternately. The appearances might be explained by the perturbing action of a strong magnetic field; but the *rationale* awaits verification. The presence or absence of familiar and obvious polarisation-effects will serve to test its truth; and their detection would be of far-reaching import in the study of cosmical physics. That electricity plays a leading part in determining the varieties of sidereal genera no steady thinker can doubt; but the part cannot at present be defined. Knowledge is inadequate for the purpose. Hence it appears more philosophical to neglect its power than to anticipate its nature. No opportunity, however, for illuminating the obscurity of the subject should be missed; and one of considerable promise seems offered by experimental inquiries into the possible magnetic relations of bright-line stars.

'Atom-born' though he be, and ephemeral, man cannot refrain from the attempt to trace the dim procession of things across the stage of time. Remembering all that it may involve, the profusion of contrivance, the vital possibilities, the unimaginable destinies of rational creatures, even the mysterious prospect of what we may ourselves encounter when we have 'crossed the bar,' we cannot but regard the scene with awe. Have we perhaps presumed too much in evoking it? Surely not. We have, in truth, no choice. Our minds are so framed that we must confront the infinite, gazing, 'with a wild surmise,' from the brink of death out into eternity. The visible universe itself leaves us unsatisfied. The

' Ever-canopying dome
Of acts and ages yet to come '

contracts, in our final contemplation, to

' A globe of dew,
Filling in the morning new
Some ey'd flower.'

For what we can perceive to be limited seems small; what we can forecast the end of seems short.

ART. IX.—1. *Declarations between the Governments of Great Britain and the German Empire relating to the Demarcation of the British and German Spheres of Influence in the Western Pacific, and to Reciprocal Freedom of Trade and Commerce in the British and German Possessions and Protectorates in these Regions.* Parliamentary Paper, Western Pacific, No. 1. London: 1886.

2. *Agreement between the British and French Governments relative to the New Hebrides, 1887 and 1888.* Parliamentary Paper, France, No. 1. London: 1888.

3. *Final Act of the Conference on the Affairs of Samoa.* Parliamentary Paper, Samoa, No. 2. London: 1890.

4. *Convention and Declaration between Great Britain and Germany of November 14, 1899, for the Settlement of the Samoan and other Questions.* Parliamentary Paper, Germany, No. 1. London: 1899.

5. *The Caroline Islands: Travel in the Sea of the Little Lands.* By F. W. CHRISTIAN, B.A., Balliol College, Oxford. London: 1899.

6. *Aux Antipodes. Enquêtes Coloniales (Nouvelle-Calédonie).* Par JEAN CAROL. 'Le Temps.' Paris: 1899-1900.

WHEN Vasco Nuñez first sighted, in 1513, the great Mar del Zur from the summit of the Darien isthmus, little did that early pioneer dream of the vastness or profundity of the immense oceanic area which must be traversed before the Asiatic Indies could be reached from the western shores of the new world. But, although Nuñez was the first European to construct and navigate small vessels on the waters of the newly discovered sea in 1516, it was reserved for Magellan, some five years later, to effect an entrance with his ships into what he christened 'El Mar Pacífico.' The tortuous strait which he penetrated still bears the name of that intrepid Portuguese navigator, who naturally supposed the inhospitable Tierra del Fuego, which is so narrowly separated from the then named 'Patagonum regio,' to form an outlying portion of the great southern continent—Terra Australis incognita—which, from the days of Marco Polo, was universally understood by geographers to extend into these latitudes from the neighbourhood of the Antarctic Circle. . .

It is remarkable that, during the whole of his passage across the Pacific, Magellan seems only to have sighted but

two solitary islands, at some distance apart—‘*las islas Desventuradas*,’ which have not yet been satisfactorily identified—before reaching the Ladrões and the Philippines, where he met with his death at the hands of the Zebu natives in the island of Mactán after accomplishing the first circumnavigation of the world. The first adventurer to follow Magellán’s footsteps in the Pacific was Alfonso de Salazar, in 1525; and within the years 1528–29 Alvaro de Saavedra, sailing from Mexico, discovered the Uluthi group, Ilogolu or Ruk, and Ualan or Kusaie, all in the Caroline archipelago, and reached the shores of New Guinea; while Diego Hurtado and Fernando de Grijalva, when searching for the illusive Terra Australis, found the island of St. Thomas in 20° south latitude. After him, Villalobos and Legaspi made fresh discoveries on their way to the Philippines from New Spain, in these waters, of which Yap was the most important.

In 1567 Mendaña, starting from Callao, discovered Ysabel and Guadalcanar, two of the present Solomon group, as well as the Isla grande de Santa Cruz; and next our great countryman, Drake, in his famous privateer, the ‘*Pelican*,’ entered the South Seas, more, perhaps, in pursuit of the Spanish galleons and plunder than from any particular love of geographical exploration.

Mendaña, on another voyage to colonise the Solomons, discovered the Marquesas group before losing his ship and his own life at Santa Cruz in 1595; and thus it came to pass that, by the end of the sixteenth century, not a tithe of the innumerable groups of islands and islets, with which we now know the western portion of the Pacific to be studded, was known to the map-makers of Europe. In 1595 Quiros also fell in with the Ngatik group, which he called Los Valientes, from the warlike character of the natives he found there.

At the commencement of the seventeenth century the passage of Torres through the strait now bearing his name proved the separation of New Guinea from Australia; and, in the same year (1606), Quiros added to his chart the *Islas de Quiros*, Taumaco, and some lands which he designated Terra Australis del Espíritu Santo, now recognised as the largest islands of the New Hebrides. After him, fresh discoveries were made in these seas by Lemaire and Schouten, among which was the group known to us as the Lord Howe Islands.

Abel Tasman, starting from Batavia in 1642, not only

discovered Van Diemen's Land, but steered an adventurous course into the Pacific, and first set foot in New Zealand, whose western shore he coasted to Cape Maria Van Diemen, sighted the Three Kings Islets, and then, proceeding in a north-easterly direction, passed within the tropic, where he found a number of small islands, Plystaart, Amsterdam, and Rotterdam, since known as the Friendly or Tonga Islands. Sailing thence more westerly he met with a fine group, the Prinz Wilhelm's Isles, more familiar to us as the Fiji Islands; and, on his homeward track, he sighted Horn Island, one of the New Hebrides, and passing the Fifteen Islands of Schouten, returned to Batavia by the northern coasts of New Britain and New Ireland. In 1686 a small island to the south of the Mariannes was found, and called Carolina, from which the name became applied to the whole archipelago. Dampier's explorations in 1688 did not extend eastwards beyond New Britain, which until his visit was supposed to be a portion of New Guinea.

Meantime, while these explorations were being pursued in the Pacific, various portions of Australia were being visited, mostly by Dutch voyagers. Among these may be mentioned the Terra de Concorde or Endracht, in 1616; Arnhem, so named by Zeachen, in 1618; Leuwin, by Endels, in 1618; Nuitz, by Peter Nuitz and De Witt, in 1627; and Carpentaria, by Peter Carpenter, in 1628. The whole of the above lands, together with Van Diemen's Land, were now regarded as forming one solid continent under the name of New Holland, with which New Guinea might or might not be connected; for the passage of Torres through the strait separating Australia from New Guinea was still unknown in Europe, his reports having remained buried in the archives at Manila. When writing in 1774 the geographer De Fréville, who had then learnt of Cook's passage through Endeavour Strait in 1770, did not know whether Tasmania was united to New Holland: 'On est aujourd'hui bien assuré qu'un détroit la sépare de la Nouvelle-Guinée, au Nord; mais il est encore douteux si, vers le Sud, elle se joint à la terre de Diemen.'

In 1721 Admiral Roggewin was despatched by the Dutch East India Company to search for land, said to have been discovered by Captain Davis in 1686, and he discovered a number of island groups on his way to New Guinea. We now enter upon the period of more scientific voyages undertaken by the governments of European nations for the systematic exploration of unknown waters. The first of

these was an English expedition under Commodore Byron, who, passing through the Strait of Magellan, in 1764, with the ships 'Dolphin' and 'Tamar,' discovered the islands named Disappointment, George, Prince of Wales, Danger, Duke of York, and Byron. The 'Dolphin' was again sent out under Captain Wallis, with the 'Swallow' under Captain Carteret. Wallis discovered, among many islands of lesser note, the since famous island of Tahiti, returning home in 1768. Carteret likewise made several new discoveries, sailed through the strait between New Britain and New Ireland, and reached England in 1769. Meantime, Bougainville had closely followed in the wake of Wallis with 'La Boudeuse' and 'L'Étoile,' and, after discovering the Low Islands, made some stay at Tahiti, visited the Navigator's Islands, and passed between the New Hebrides—'Les grandes Cyclades'—failed to penetrate Torres Strait, coasted by the Louisiades, and arrived in France in 1769.

Captain Cook's voyages, however, far surpassed in importance all previous explorations. His first expedition, in the 'Endeavour,' was undertaken for the purpose of observing the transit of Venus at Tahiti, which had just been discovered by Wallis. The transit was duly observed in April 1769, and then Cook proceeded on his celebrated voyage of exploration.

'He discovered the Society Islands, determined the insularity of New Zealand, discovered the straits which separate the two islands and are called after his name, and made a complete survey of both. He afterwards explored the eastern coast of New Holland, hitherto unknown, through an extent of twenty-seven degrees of latitude, or upwards of two thousand miles.'

Cook's second expedition left the Cape of Good Hope in 1772 in search of the southern continent. It consisted of the ships 'Resolution' and 'Adventure,' which again visited Tahiti and the Tonga Islands. After another search for Antarctic lands in high latitudes Cook again returned to the tropics, discovered, among others, Palmerston and Savage Islands, visited the New Hebrides, and, above all, discovered and partially explored the north-east coast of New Caledonia. The important additions Cook made to the charts of the Pacific have never been equalled in any single voyage. Cook's last and fatal voyage was devoted to the exploration of the North Pacific, with which we are not concerned at present.

The voyage of La Pérouse in the 'Astrolabe,' and Captain de Langle in 'La Boussole,' obtained unusual notoriety

from the mysterious disappearance of the ships. After leaving Sydney, New South Wales, in 1788, nothing was heard of their fate for many years. It was known that Captain de Langle, the naturalist, M. de Lamanon, and nine sailors had already been massacred at Tutuila, in the Samoan Islands, before reaching Sydney, but it was not until 1826 that Captain Dillon found the wreckage of the 'Astrolabe' and 'Boussole' at the island of Vanikoro, the southernmost of the Santa Cruz group. The 'Recherche' and 'Espérance,' under Admiral d'Entrecasteaux and Huon Kermadec, were sent from France to attempt to ascertain the fate of La Pérouse in 1791. They returned in 1794, after making valuable discoveries; but the voyage was disastrous, as both the commanders and half the original crews of the two vessels lost their lives. The next explorations of note in the Western Pacific are those of the Russian captains, Krusenstern and Lütke. The results of their labours were the firstfruits of the nineteenth century, and another Russian, Von Kotzebue, son of the well-known author, made successful discoveries with the 'Rurick,' in the Radack Channel, the Low Archipelago, and the Carolines in 1818. Kotzebue's explorations were continued in another voyage, 1823-1826, when important surveys were made of various groups, especially those of the Navigator Islands and the Ladrões, which had already been visited by the scientific expedition of Louis de Freycinet in 1819. Another famous expedition was that of Captain Dumont d'Urville, also in search of La Pérouse's ships, in which many important additions were made to the chart of the Western Pacific. On reaching Sydney Captain d'Urville heard of Dillon's discoveries at Vanikoro, whither he proceeded and rescued many relics of La Pérouse. The currents and magnetic variation of this portion of the Pacific were also examined and charted carefully by Captain Duperrey in 1822 to 1825, and a second expedition under Captain d'Urville, 1837 to 1840, added much to our knowledge of the hydrography of the same waters.

The voyages of H.M.S. 'Adventure' and H.M.S. 'Beagle,' under Commanders King and Stokes, from 1825 to 1830, accomplished a great work in South America, while the next expedition, under Captain Fitzroy, in H.M.S. 'Beagle,' to carry a chain of meridian distances round the world—1831 to 1836—has become more famous and popular on account of its record by Charles Darwin. Next followed in chronological order the voyage of the 'Venus,' under

Captain du Petit Thouars, undertaken for the encouragement of the French whale fishery, in 1837–1839, from which valuable results were obtained, and finally the great United States exploring expedition of 1838, under Lieutenant Wilkes, by which, besides other work, the Low Archipelago, the Society Islands, the Fijis, the Tonga and Phoenix groups, the Ellice and Gilbert Archipelagos, and other portions of the central Pacific were thoroughly surveyed.

It would be impossible here to enumerate the list of naval officers, in our own and other services, whose labours during the last sixty years have enabled European hydrographers to construct a series of detailed charts of the Pacific which serve as an efficient guide to the vessels of the mercantile marine through labyrinths of reefs and innumerable hidden dangers. To attempt to do so would be nearly equivalent to writing the history of our Hydrographical Department and of the marine surveys so admirably conducted under Admiral Wharton and his predecessors at the Admiralty.

Hitherto we have dealt with the Pacific as a whole. We now proceed to consider somewhat particularly that western portion of it which is especially interspersed with archipelagoes, and of considerable importance to our Australasian colonies, to which they are more nearly contiguous than the remoter regions of that Ocean. The present conventional expression 'Western Pacific' has been officially declared to comprehend, for international purposes, all that part of the Pacific Ocean, lying between the fifteenth parallel of north latitude and the thirtieth parallel of south latitude, which is included between the meridians respectively of 165° longitude west and 130° longitude east of Greenwich.

Within this area we find innumerable islands, scattered apparently in inextricable confusion; but, bearing in mind Darwin's observation that the arrangement of the atolls in single or double lines forms rude outline charts of the sunken islands over which they stand, and also that their lines generally extend parallel to the prevailing strike of the high islands and great coast lines of the ocean, it will not be difficult to arrange the majority of them into definite groups, and their arrangement will be all the more readily comprehended when the lines of deep-sea soundings are also considered, for then the contours of the submerged lands which they represent can be resuscitated without much effort of the imagination.

All these islands, then, have been separated by geographers into three main divisions, which, as it happens,

also accord fairly with the ethnological distribution of their populations—viz. Micronesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia.

Micronesia includes those numerous islands—none of large size—somewhat sparsely scattered—to the north of the equator, such as the Ladrões, the Pelew Islands, the Carolines, Marshall, and Gilbert Islands. These are mostly inhabited by a mixed Malayo-Polynesian race of men. Melanesia comprehends all the groups extending east and south-east of New Guinea within the tropic, south of the equator, and includes New Britain, New Ireland, the Solomons, Santa Cruz, New Hebrides, New Caledonia, and the Fijis. These archipelagoes are chiefly occupied by the black and woolly-haired Papuan race. Of Polynesia, which comprises a number of distinct archipelagoes over the whole of the Central Pacific, only the westernmost groups come within the limits assigned politically to the Western Pacific, with which we are now dealing; and these consist of the Phoenix, Ellice, Samoan, and Tongan Islands, inhabited by the Polynesian or Mahori race, with smooth and curly hair, totally different from the frizzled hair of the Melanesians. It must be understood that the above divisions, as regards their populations, are somewhat arbitrary, and the exceptions are numerous; for instance, some of the small islands, although close together, may be inhabited by quite a different race.

For many years after their discovery none of the islands of Australasia was regarded as of any value as a possession by European nations. The settlement of New South Wales, New Zealand, and Tasmania naturally attracted our own emigrants by their advantageous lands fit for agriculture and sheep and cattle pasturage outside the tropics under temperate skies. Little attention was paid to the archipelagoes of Oceania, except by the missionaries and the few traders for sandalwood, copra,* pearl-shell, and *bêche-de-mer*. The history of most of the islands, from their discovery to within the last thirty years, is to be found in the records of the various missionary societies, foremost among which has ever been the London Missionary Society, both as regards the priority and the extent of its operations in these regions, particularly in Polynesia. In Melanesia a comparatively new field was opened to civilisation by George Augustus Selwyn, the great Bishop of New Zealand; and

* Copra is the kernel of the cocoanut, chipped up, sun-dried, or artificially dried by fire, and put into sacks for export.

the work of the Melanesian Mission, which he established, has been well continued under his followers—Codrington, Patteson, and the late Bishop John Selwyn, the worthy son of a noble father.

With the establishment of plantations within the tropical settlements of Queensland and Fiji came the curse of the islanders, in the shape of the labour traffic. In the New Hebrides was found the most convenient recruiting-ground for this 'blackbirding;' and the fact that, as Mr. Wallace tells us, no interpreters in the many absolutely diverse languages spoken in these islands could be found is sufficient proof that the natives cajoled under various pretexts to work in Queensland could not possibly be made to understand where or for what they were going to be taken.

Two years after Great Britain had taken possession of New Zealand—that is in 1842—Queen Pomare, of Tahiti, was induced to place herself under the protection of France. Later the French admiral seized Mr. Pritchard, a missionary, who had been English Consul, and Sir Robert Peel demanded satisfaction from the French Government. Queen Pomare was nominally restored to power in 1844, but the French protection was equivalent to actual possession, which, however, was not formally recognised until 1880.

This was the commencement of European rivalry for possessions in the Pacific; and Fiji, the most important group in the Western Pacific, naturally attracted the attention of the greatest naval Power. The London Missionary Society had successfully worked from 1835 in these islands, where a number of ex-convicts and a small colony of Australians had at that time established themselves.

The opening of the Panama railway, and the impetus thus given to commerce with the Pacific in 1854-5, increased the importance of Fiji; and Consul Pritchard obtained an offer for the cession of the islands from the principal chief (Thakombau), in 1858, in return for a debt of 9,000*l.*, which he owed to the United States Government. On the return of H.M.S. 'Herald,' under Captain Denham, with Colonel Smythe, of the Royal Artillery, who had been sent to report on the proposed cession, the offer of Thakombau was rejected; but, Consul Pritchard having been appointed governor by the chief in 1860, Fijian affairs remained in an unsatisfactory state until 1868, when the debt to the States was paid by an Australian company in return for 200,000 acres of land in the island of Viti Levu, with an

allowance to the chief. A provisional government was then formed, which existed only, however, until the British Government resolved to annex the group, at the instance of Sir Hercules Robinson, Governor of New South Wales, who hoisted the British flag in September 1874. Sir Arthur Gordon, now Lord Stanmore, was appointed Governor, and landed at Levuka in June 1875, since which date the success of this possession, the first British colony in the Western Pacific, has been assured. Besides his duties as Governor of the colony, Sir Arthur Gordon had also entrusted to him a general supervision as High Commissioner over all the islands of the Western Pacific; and since that time various groups of the smaller islands have been annexed by the High Commissioner. In this manner Rotumah was annexed to the colony of Fiji, by request of its chiefs, in 1880; Cook's Islands—not strictly within the specified limits of the West Pacific—were annexed in 1888; the Gilberts or Kingmill and the Ellice Islands, which with the Phoenix and Union groups are popularly known by sailors as the 'Line Islands,' were also taken under the protection of our flag in 1892—thus establishing, as it were, a British preserve over all the scattered islands in the Western Pacific south of the equator, with but few exceptions.

Although that huge continental island, New Guinea, cannot be considered as properly belonging to the Western Pacific, yet it is necessary to advert to the partition of its eastern half, as more recent demarcations depend upon it.

The Dutch, as successors to the Sultan of Tidor, have long claimed the suzerainty over the western moiety of the island, although the eastern boundary line was not clearly defined until in 1883 the 141st meridian was agreed to by the Powers interested. In that year the Government of Queensland sent a commissioner to take possession of the south-eastern coast, but the act was repudiated by the home authorities, who, however, ordered Commodore Erskine to proclaim a British Protectorate at Port Moresby in 1884. In the following year the German New Guinea Company was officially authorised to establish its headquarters at Mioko, in the Duke of York group, between New Britain and New Ireland, where certain German traders had formed a factory as early as 1878; and in 1886 an agreement was arrived at with Great Britain by which the dividing line between British and German possessions in the eastern portion of New Guinea was amicably settled.*

* The east boundary of the German New Guinea Company was

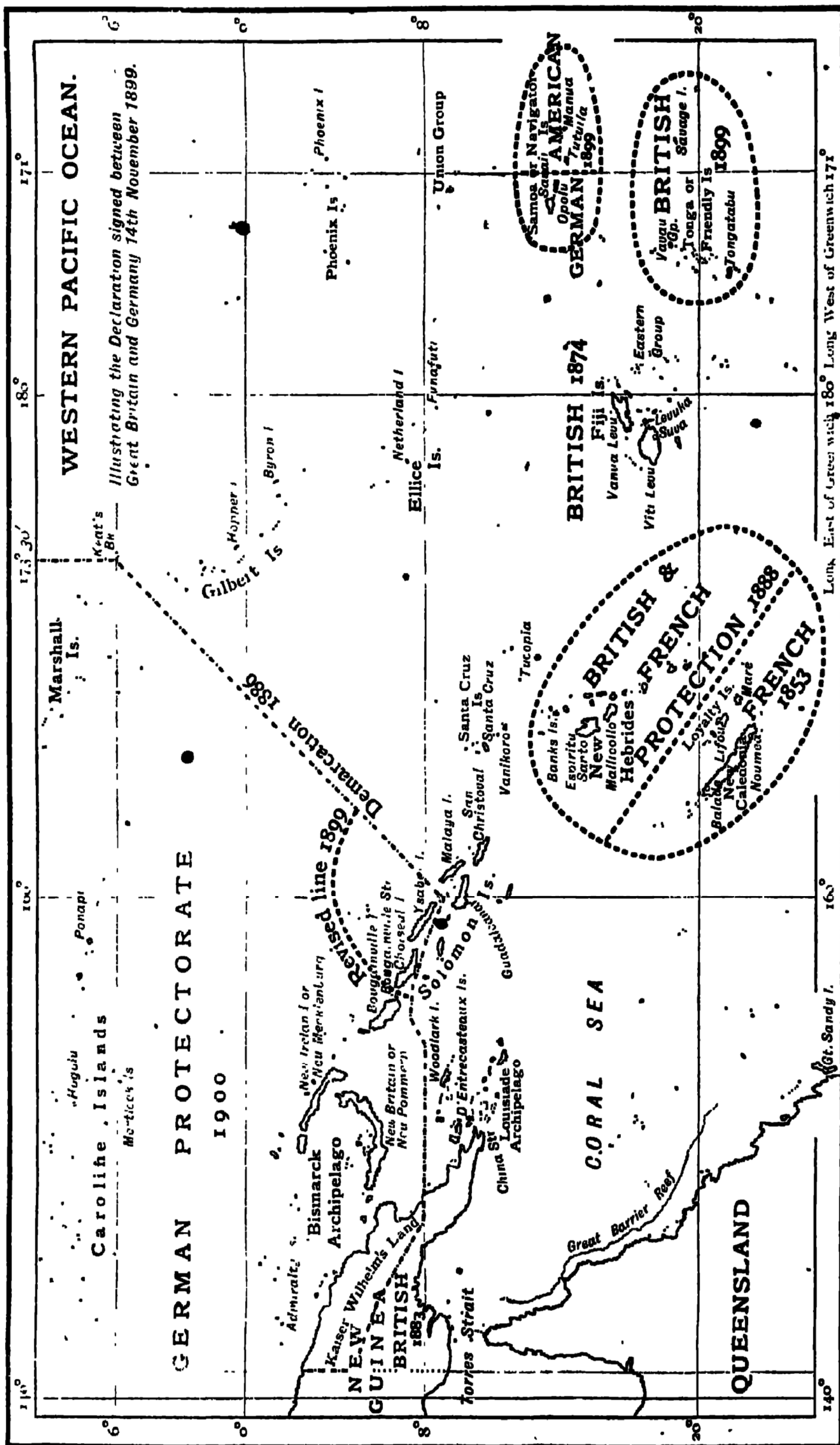
An understanding was likewise come to, at this time, with Germany, by which the British and German spheres of influence in the Western Pacific should be set apart; and a conventional line was fixed upon, commencing from a point on the north-east coast of New Guinea in 8° south latitude, following the parallel, south of the three largest islands of the Solomon group, and thence continuing in a north-easterly direction to a bank marking the extremity of the Marshall Islands, and then along the meridian of $173^{\circ} 30'$. Germany engaged not to make acquisitions of territory, accept protectorates, or interfere with the extension of British influence throughout that part of the Western Pacific lying to the east, south-east, or south of this line; while Great Britain made a similar engagement with regard to the islands lying to the west of this same line shown in the accompanying map. This declaration, however, was understood not to apply to the Samoan and Tongan groups, which, it was agreed, were to continue, as formerly, neutral groups; and of course it did not apply to New Caledonia, the Loyalty Isles, and the New Hebrides, over which France possessed sovereign and protectorate rights.

On the German portion of New Guinea the high-sounding designation of Kaiser Wilhelm Land was conferred, while New Britain, now New Pommern, New Ireland, or New Mecklenburg, with the Admiralty, Schouten, and other islands north-east of New Guinea, were christened the Bismarck Archipelago, after the great statesman who had incorporated them with the Empire. About the same period the boundary between the German possessions and the Spanish waters, including the Carolines, Pelew, and Mariannes, was marked by the equator.

As indication of the almost illimitable number of islets which are to be found around the coasts of Eastern New Guinea, we may quote the late Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Hugh Romilly, who states that 'it is, perhaps, not too much to say that there are probably some islands which have never even been sighted.'

By an arrangement with the Australian colonies, which guaranteed the cost of the administration, the British portion of New Guinea was formed into a colony from October 30, 1888, while a British Protectorate was also

fixed at the 154th meridian E. long., the west by the 141st meridian, and the northern limit at the equator, north of which were the Spanish waters.



Walker & Boutwell sc

proclaimed over the eastern and southern Solomon Islands in 1893, of which we shall make mention presently.

Extending northward, for a thousand miles from the shores of Kaiser Wilhelm Land, lies what was once Spanish, what is now German, Micronesia, between the equatorial line and the eleventh parallel of north latitude, and between 139° and 170° E. longitude. Within this wide stretch of ocean, over a thousand miles in breadth, are scattered 652 islands, forming the six-and-thirty minor groups which collectively form the Caroline archipelago, populated by some fifty thousand inhabitants of mixed Papuan, Polynesian, and Malayan races. Following Mr. Christian's account, the most recent and trustworthy of all authorities on these islands, we cannot do better than take a few notes from this author's historical sketch of the islands. After alluding to the early Spanish discoveries he tells us how the religious expeditions from Manila also failed disastrously, ending in the death of the missionaries. There is still a grim story of how ironclad men came up out of the sea and fought with the men of Kiti until overwhelmed with sling-stones and spear-thrusts.

Coming down to recent years it seems that a tentative effort was made by a German gunboat to raise the Imperial flag at Yap in 1885; but this was disavowed at the instance of the Pope, and the Spanish flag was raised in 1886 at Ponape, where the colony of Santiago was founded in Ascension Bay. The Methodist missionaries from Boston, who had been established at Kiti since 1850, speedily felt the antagonism of the Capuchin priests, through whose influence the head of the American mission was deported to Manila. In the same year a general rising of the natives took place, and massacres of the Spaniards were rapidly succeeded by punitive expeditions, with amnesty and peace until 1890, when another rising and massacre was followed by bombardment of the native villages and desultory fighting, during which operations the Spanish commander was killed. The same alternation of massacre, assassination, and retaliation has lasted throughout the Spanish occupation of the Carolines.

As for the wonders to be met with in these little-visited islands, their curious stone money—huge discs of arragonite, quarried in the Pelew Islands—like grindstones, weighing sometimes three tons; their ancient fortifications, prehistoric stone, breakwaters, harbours, and canal streets bordered with cyclopean monuments of bygone days, their

clubhouses of to-day—for a good account of all these tempting subjects our readers must be referred to Mr. Christian's admirable volume, which will certainly come as a revelation to many.

Mr. Christian had the good fortune to meet a German emissary of the great firm of Godeffroy Brothers, of Hamburg, by name Mr. Kubary, who had explored and planned, in 1872, the mysterious ruined island-city of Nan Matal on the east coast of Ponape, at the mouth of the port of Metalanin. He has well nigh conclusively proved that (1) the stone buildings of Nan Matal were erected by a race preceding the present inhabitants of Ponape; (2) the builders of Nan Matal belonged to the black race, and the Ponapeans are a mixed race; (3) the ruins of Ponape afford no proof of the sinking of the island—on the contrary, they unmistakeably show that they are the remains of a water-building; (4) the fourfold aspect deprives of all support the theory that the ruins are the remains of fortifications built by Spanish pirates.

The rapid collapse of the Spanish naval power gave the German Emperor the opportunity of extending the limits of his possessions north of New Guinea; and on June 2, 1899, Spain ceded, for a sum of 800,000*l.*, to Germany all the Caroline, Pelew, and Marianne or Ladrone Islands, which have been duly incorporated this year in the Protectorate of German New Guinea, which, therefore, now stretches north of the equator some 20°. By the recent agreement with Great Britain, the Marshall group, east of the Carolines, is also included within the sphere of German influence, and thus it may be said that the whole of Micronesia belongs to Germany. Whether the Micronesians will be the happier for this transfer is a question we can hardly ask. Our late Commissioner, Mr. Romilly, evidently had some doubts on the subject, as he thus writes of the Admiralty Islands:

‘Now that the Germans have hoisted their flag there, the Admiralty islanders will probably become more and more acquainted with the ways of white men. But as the population is small, it will probably, as has already been the case in the Hermits, disappear rapidly before those energetic colonists. If this should be so, it will be much to be regretted, for a more remarkable race does not exist in the Pacific.’ *

And he goes on to tell us how ‘a short time afterwards’ two German warships went to the Hermits, and took such

* ‘The Western Pacific and New Guinea,’ by Hugh Hastings Romilly, 1886, p. 119.

‘revenge that the population now is, I believe, reduced to ‘about half what it used to be.’

On the other hand, Mr. Christian, writing, before the recent transfer of authority, in reference to the recent massacre of Don Miguel Velasco and his sailors at Roukiti, says :

‘Perhaps, if the Carolines are handed over to Germany, as Spain seems disposed to do, we shall hear less of this *odium theologicum*, which elsewhere has proved such a firebrand to the world, and here has brought about such lamentable waste of life and treasure and cruel humiliations to Spain.’

Small doubt but the American Methodist missionaries and their converts will fare better under the German than under the Spanish flag.

It will be noticed on the map that, by the demarcation line of 1886, four of the main islands forming the Solomon group were allotted to the British sphere of influence. These islands, Malaita, New Georgia, Guadalcanar, and San Christoval, were subsequently annexed, in 1893, by Great Britain.* By the last (1899) arrangement,† two of the larger and more northern of this group (Choiseul and Ysabel) have been ceded to us; thus leaving Bougainville, the largest of them, still in the hands of Germany. It certainly seems a pity that the continuity of this fine archipelago should thus have been broken up and placed under separate governments, especially as Bougainville Strait is a very narrow one; but doubtless large German commercial interests had been created in this island superior to ours, as the German traders have usually been beforehand in these waters within the last few years.

All the larger islands of the Solomon group are mountainous; indeed, some of the summits are lofty, as Mount Balbi, in Bougainville, over 10,000 feet; in Guadalcanar is another of 8,000, and in the other five islands are ranges of 4,000 feet altitude. Their formation seems largely volcanic, as at least two active volcanoes are known there; but the

* A British coal depôt has already been established on Gavutu. The residence of the Commissioner is fixed on the island of Tulagi.

† In Article II. paragraph 3, of the Declaration of November 14, 1899, ‘she (Germany) recognises as falling to Great Britain those of the Solomon Islands, at present belonging to Germany, which are situated to the east and south-east of the island of Bougainville, which latter shall continue to belong to Germany, together with the island of Buka, which forms part of it.’

geological structure of older rocks offers a promising field for mineral research, as soon as the interior of the islands can be safely penetrated. The Melanesian inhabitants are vigorous, bold, and warlike, and are reputed cannibals. Some of them, especially in Guadalcanar, are good bowmen, and they are expert in building and managing large canoes. The practice of head-hunting, so characteristic of the Papuans of New Guinea, is universal among them; nevertheless, when taken over to Queensland they make tractable labourers. Altogether these islands will become a valuable acquisition to our Australasian colonies; and some day, let us hope, they may be developed into British colonies themselves. We must not forget to add that Germany has stipulated that she retains her right to freely engage labourers in all the Solomon Islands.*

South-eastwards from the Solomons are the Santa Cruz Islands, which by the German agreement of 1886 have been acknowledged as British possessions, and lately brought under direct British administration. The Santa Cruz Islands were first properly charted by that admirable geographer, M. Beantemps-Beaupré, who accompanied Admiral d'Entrecasteaux in 1793. But they are peculiarly interesting to French seamen, in that they include that reef-bound island of Vanikoro on which the ships of La Pérouse, the 'Boussole' and the 'Astrolabe,' were wrecked in 1788. The fate of these vessels was not ascertained until Captain Peter Dillon discovered in 1827 their relics, more of which were recovered by Dumont d'Urville in 1828 and later in 1838. Nitendi, or Santa Cruz, is the largest of the islands, and notable as the scene of the treacherous attack on the boats of H.M.S. 'Pearl' on August 12, 1875, when Commodore Goodenough and two bluejackets were mortally wounded by arrows. Another neighbouring island, Nukapu, is likewise celebrated in the annals of the Melanesian Mission as the place where Bishop Patteson and his companions were slain in 1871 by the natives, in revenge, as it is supposed, for wrongs previously inflicted by a labour vessel.

Bishop John Selwyn afterwards in 1880 courageously landed from the mission yacht 'Southern Cross' and made

* Article IV., Declaration November 14, 1899: 'The arrangement at present existing between Germany and Great Britain, and concerning the right of Germany to freely engage labourers in the Solomon Islands belonging to Great Britain, shall be equally extended to those of the Solomon Islands mentioned in Article II. which fall to the share of Great Britain.'

friends with the natives at both these islands, and native missionaries are now established on them. The whole group is volcanic, and one of them an active volcano.

Twenty-two years ago the British and French Governments agreed that neither Power should annex the islands known as the New Hebrides. In 1886, however, two of the smaller southern islands of the New Hebrides were occupied by some French detachments of marine infantry, and a certain amount of apprehension was created among the colonists of Australia and New Zealand that the French Government intended to annex the whole archipelago. Communications between the two Governments elicited assurances that no project of annexation was contemplated, and a Convention was negotiated by which provision was made for the protection of life and property in these islands by means of a Joint Commission in 1887. A declaration was signed at Paris in the following year by which a Joint Naval Commission was constituted of British and French naval officers on the Pacific station, charged with the duty of maintaining order and of protecting the lives and property of British and French subjects in the New Hebrides.

This extensive archipelago stretches from Banks Islands, in latitude 14° S., to Aneiteum, in latitude 20°. The islands are actively volcanic, and the most powerful volcano of the group, Tauna, when discovered by Captain Cook, was in full eruption, forming a splendid natural lighthouse, 980 feet high, its noise and flames being visible forty miles around.

Although the inhabitants of the New Hebrides are mostly Melanesians—for Polynesians inhabit Cherry Island, Tucopia, and the Duff Islands—they are divided into as many independent and separate tribes as there are islands, and the islanders likewise differ greatly in physical qualities, speaking also a great variety of languages. The English Church Mission, having established itself in the northern islands, has adopted the language of Mota,* one of the Banks group, as their standard language at St. Barnabas School on Norfolk Island. The Presbyterian Mission occupies itself with those islands south of Ambrym, on one of which, Erromanga, the missionary John Williams was murdered.

* The island of Mota is one of the smallest of the Banks Islands; but it was in 1860 that openings occurred for mission work there, and Bishop Patteson took a party of sixteen to Lifu in the Loyalty Islands, where in 1863 some of the boys from Mota were christened; thus the Mota language became the one used by the mission.

Since, four other missionaries have there met with a similar fate.

In January 1895 a terrible eruption took place from the Crater Mountain, or Mount Marum, in Ambrym, by which half the island was devastated by the flow of lava and the fall of ashes, and a large number of the inhabitants lost their lives.

Espiritu Santo is the largest of the whole group, measuring sixty-five miles by thirty miles, with mountains four thousand feet high. There are here some remarkable ruins, which seem to resemble somewhat those of the Carolines. At Mallicollo, another good-sized island, fifty-four miles in length, Bishop George Augustus Selwyn nearly lost his life in 1851.

Great Britain having acquired Fiji, and France being already in possession of Tahiti, with the adjacent islands, it can be well understood that both for Germany and the United States it also became an object to establish a centre of trade and influence within the Western Pacific. The Samoan group, situated nearly midway between the French and British possessions, was therefore naturally regarded as a desirable strategic possession by both these Powers.

The largest of the Samoan or Navigator's Islands are Savaii, Upolu, Tutuila, and Manua. Upolu contains the principal harbours and the chief town, Apia, which has attained importance as the chief emporium of many of the other Pacific Islands, excepting Tahiti and Fiji. The Samoan group collectively contain an area of about 2,650 square miles, with a population of 56,600, of whom 14,850 had embraced Christianity, and 12,300 attended schools in 1840. The political history of these interesting islands, the headquarters, so to speak, of the Polynesian race, is most complicated, but we may try to sketch a general outline of the principal facts connected with it.

The Tongans, a superior race, appear to have invaded Upolu and Savaii some five hundred years ago, and to have effected their conquest by making a road along the central mountain ridge, and thence descending on the villages. Traces of these roads, called Ala-i-Tonga, can still be seen. The Samoans, however, revolted under their chief Malietoa, perhaps about three hundred years since, and expelled the Tonga dynasty. Between twenty and twenty-five generations of Malietoas have succeeded to the title of supreme chieftain of Samoa, so that the legitimacy of the claim of the modern family of Malietoa to the chieftainship is undeniable.

When John Williams, the pioneer of missionary work in

the Western Pacific, arrived in Samoa in 1830, he found the only European residents, ex-convicts, and other cosmopolitan rascals from Australia had been before him and greatly interfered with the success of his first efforts to introduce the blessings of Christianity and civilisation. At that time the chief Malietoa was king, his dynasty having ruled the Samoans for some generations back, although representatives of the original Tui Samoa, the more ancient Tupua dynasty, were still extant.

In 1840, however, civil war broke out on the death of the then reigning Malietoa, and since that date at irregular intervals there has been continual strife between the contending factions, but the Malietoa dynasty has generally held its own.

In 1857 the house of Godeffroy, of Hamburg, became firmly established in Apia, and rapidly absorbed a large proportion of the trade throughout the Western Pacific. To this firm the intertribal disputes for the sovereignty afforded an opportunity for disposing of arms manufactured at Liège to the combatants in exchange for land at two or three marks per acre. By this means Godeffroy's house obtained some thousands of acres, on which cotton plantations were formed, with cheap labour imported from other islands. A shipbuilding yard was constructed, and, altogether, the transactions of this firm were on an extensive scale, for there was no competition until the arrival of an American company in 1868—the Polynesian Lands and Commercial Company of San Francisco. This company arrived at an opportune moment for supplying arms to the Samoans; for a split in the Malietoa dynasty occurred on the death of the king in 1869, his two sons contesting the succession. The chiefs of Savaii elected the elder brother, while those of Manua elected the younger. The islands of Auna and Atua seem always to have remained faithful to the old Tupua family. The American company likewise were willing to take broad acres in exchange for their fire-arms, and soon became proprietors of large estates; and a *quasi*-official protectorate was exercised by the United States Consul. Affairs remained in an unsettled state, with varying success on either side, until 1873, when the Samoans apparently resolved to have a king of each dynasty to rule conjointly, and Pulepule ascended the throne, as a puppet, we may suppose, with Malietoa Laupepa as his executive coadjutor. This arrangement lasted until 1875, when Colonel Steinberger was sent by the United States Govern-

ment, in the 'Tuscarora' frigate, to report on Samoan affairs. He promptly put Malietoa on the throne, with himself as chief of the executive powers, and proceeded to fit out a schooner, in which he sailed to Tutuila under the American flag, in defiance of the American Consul, who caused him to be arrested, with the assistance of H.M.S. 'Barracouta.' Malietoa was carried off to Savaii, rescued by the 'Barracouta,' and brought back to Upolu; but in the course of these operations several bluejackets and marines were killed and wounded. Again Malietoa Laupepa reigned, and more internecine war was carried on until he finally gained the upper hand, being acknowledged king by the foreign Powers, with General Bartlett, of the United States army, as his minister. Meantime, Godeffroy's firm having become bankrupt, its business and estates were undertaken by another German company—the Deutsche Handel- und Plantagen-Gesellschaft, of which Herr Brandeis, a German officer, was an active agent. Treaties were concluded in 1878-9 with the United States, Germany, and Great Britain, whereby the port of Pago-Pago was placed at the disposal of the United States, that of Saluafata given to the Germans for a naval station, while Great Britain was permitted to place coal depôts on the islands. This last treaty was carried out by Sir Arthur Gordon, who came over to Samoa from Fiji in 1879. On November 8, 1880, King Malietoa died, and the country was once more in a state of disturbance, the representatives of the three Powers being drawn into the strife by the antagonism of their mercantile houses.

Generally Herr Brandeis and the German Consul supported Tamasese, while the English and Americans were on the side of Malietoa Laupepa. To make a long story short, after a commission of inquiry had been held by the representatives of the interested nationalities, a conference was held in Washington to determine what steps should be taken to form an international administration in 1887. In the same year the German Government not only made a claim against Malietoa for compensation amounting to several thousand dollars, but sent a squadron to enforce payment; in default of which Malietoa's people were attacked, and that chief himself was carried off to Cameroons, Europe, and Jaluit (Marshall Islands), while the Tupuan chief, Tamasese, was set up in his place. Tamasese's powers did not last long, for a large body of the Samoans soon rebelled against an administration imposed upon them by the Germans, and they united under Tuiatua Mataafa, also

Tupuan. A fierce civil war ensued, in the course of which Tamasese was forced to leave Apia, while the Germans shelled several of Mataafa's villages. In December 1888 the Samoans offered resistance to a landing party on the beach at Fangalii, which was repulsed with severe loss, Lieutenant Siegir and fifty-four of his men being killed and wounded out of the hundred and forty who had landed. The survivors were only brought on board under the covering shell-fire from the 'Eber,' under Captain Wallis. Asi, Maunga, and Tuiletufunga were likewise deported to the Marshall Islands.

It was owing to these complications that three American men-of-war, the 'Trenton,' 'Vandalia,' and 'Nipsic,' three German ships, the 'Adler,' 'Olga,' and 'Eber,' with the British cruiser 'Calliope,' happened to be assembled in the small harbour of Apia, on the north side of Upolu, in March 1889, together with some dozen trading schooners, when the fierce cyclone occurred on the 15th and 16th of that month which wrought such havoc and destruction on these squadrons. Of the Americans the 'Vandalia' sank, the 'Trenton,' while drifting on the 'Vandalia,' ran aground, and the 'Nipsic' ran on to the beach. The German squadron fared even worse, for the gunboat 'Eber' was absolutely rolled over and smashed up on the reef; the 'Adler' was also overturned, and lay on her side on the reef; while the 'Olga' steamed on to the mud flats, from which she was subsequently hauled off. As for the British cruiser, 'Calliope,' Captain Kane alone succeeded in saving her by steaming right in the teeth of the hurricane out to sea through the entrance of the reef, saluted by the cheers of the 'Trenton,' then apparently drifting to destruction. The Samoans behaved gallantly in saving the lives of as many as they could—even of those who had so recently been bombarding their homes.*

The Conference at Berlin, whither it had been adjourned from Washington, had meantime decided that the Samoans were neutral, and free to elect their own king; upon which Malietoa was brought back from exile and recognised by the Great Powers.†

When Malietoa Laupepa was reinstated, his powerful and

* In all one hundred and forty-four lives were lost by the combined squadrons in this cyclone.

† Samoa, No. 2 (1890), Final Act of the Conference on the Affairs of Samoa, signed at Berlin, June 14, 1899. Ratifications deposited at Berlin April 12, 1890.

popular kinsman, Mataafa, whose titles, as Stevenson informs us, might be held equally good, and whose abilities were certainly greater, had expected to occupy a position of influence in the new government: finding himself ignored, he withdrew to Malie, outside Apia, where he lived in semi-royal state as a kind of passive rival to Malietoa, who resided at Mulinu. Meantime a Swedish Commissioner and a German President of Council, together with a British Chief Justice, were appointed to carry on the work of the government, according to the declaration of Berlin. When Malietoa Laupepa died, in August 1898, the Chief Justice had to decide in the election of his successor, pronouncing in favour of Malietoa Tanu, son of the late king; and thereupon another outbreak of civil-war took place, during which, unfortunately, the lives of several bluejackets and marines, American as well as English, were sacrificed.

More commissioners and more reporting to the Powers at home in Europe, where another Conference was held, resulted in the recent Agreement of November 14, by Article 1 of which 'Great Britain renounced in favour of 'Germany all her rights over the islands of Upolu and 'Savaii, including the right of establishing a naval and 'coaling station there and her right of extra-territoriality 'in these islands.' By Article 2: 'Great Britain similarly 'renounced in favour of the United States of America all 'her rights over the island of Tutuila and the other islands 'of the Samoan group east of 171° longitude east [*sic*]* of 'Greenwich.'

We may refrain from discussing here the other clauses in the same convention regarding the partition of the neutral zone in West Africa, the reciprocal tariffs in Togo and the Gold Coast, and the renouncement of the German rights of extra-territoriality in Zanzibar---except briefly to express our disapproval of the present diplomatic methods of procedure whereby European interests in such opposite quarters of the world should be in any way made to depend upon one another.†

* Of course this should be longitude *west* of Greenwich. It is an example of the carelessness with which some of these important documents are compiled at the F.O.

† In the autumn of 1880 a Convention for a French Protectorate over the island of Raiatea (one of the islands to leeward of Tahiti) was made dependent upon the settlement of the disputed fishery questions in Newfoundland. So also the question of the French Protectorate in Madagascar was mixed up with the demarcation of Nigeria.

This break-up of the unworkable tridominium established by the Berlin Conference of 1889 has been satisfactory to all parties, excepting perhaps to the Samoans themselves, who probably would have preferred to be placed under British rule. A protest signed by some of the Samoan chiefs, however, has probably been withdrawn, and no doubt both the Germans and Americans will find their new subjects and fellow-citizens perfectly amenable to the newly constituted Imperial and Republican authorities respectively.

By the second Article of the recent Convention 'Germany renounces in favour of Great Britain all her rights over the Tonga Islands, including Vavau, and over Savage island, including the right of establishing a naval station and coaling-station, and the right of extra-territoriality in the said islands.' These rights, it appears, were obtained by the German Government, as long ago as 1876, by a treaty with Tuikanakubulu, otherwise King George of Tongatabu. This Tongan archipelago is composed of at least one hundred islands, in groups, of which the principal and southernmost is that of Tongatabu; which island is 20 miles in length, 8 in width, of an irregular crescent form, with its concavity facing north, forming a not too safe harbour, where Captain Cook, and subsequently d'Entrecasteaux, stayed for some time and erected observatories. Niukalofa, the principal town, lies at the head of the harbour—not to be compared, however, for convenience or security with that of Pango-pango or Apia. The only other islands of any size are Vavau and Eooa. Of the Hapai group, Lifuka is the most interesting, as it was that on which Mariner chiefly resided between 1806 and 1810. The London Missionary Society attempted the conversion of these islands as far back as 1797, but was compelled to withdraw; however, since 1826 the Wesleyans have established successful mission stations in Tongatabu, Vavau, and Lifuka, where all the inhabitants, about 30,000, have embraced Christianity, and of these some 1,200 are Roman Catholics. We should add that there are hundreds of horses in the archipelago, and the Tongans are fearless horsemen.

Of Savage Island, or Nieu, where Captain Cook was attacked in 1774, little is known. The Nieuans of the present day seem harmless, and their islet, but nine miles in length, possesses small attractions or value; but of course its position may possibly become of importance as an outpost, or for telegraphic communication in time of war.

Another little-known volcanic island, Niuafo, although

lying at a distance from the Tongan group proper, is inhabited by Tongans, and the description of it by Romilly is fascinating. It is inaccessible for boats, so there are no canoes; the islanders, however, are good swimmers, and can leap into the sea at any state of the tide, although they can only climb to land at high water. In the centre of the island is a mysterious crateral lake with mineral waters, from constantly bathing in which, the natives, by far the handsomest in the Pacific, have obtained skins like satin, while the figures of the men and women are as near perfection as possible. Its cocoanuts are the largest in the world, excepting the double cocos-de-mer from the Seychelles; and among its other wonders are the remarkable Megapode birds, whose numerous tunnels are dug round the margin of the romantic lake.

One characteristic trait of the Tongan islanders must not be omitted. They are first-rate cricketers, having been well coached in the game by the Rev. Mr. Moulton, of the Wesleyan Mission. Mr. Romilly writes:—

‘In Tongatabu, in which island the capital of Tonga is situated, you may see the natives playing cricket—and very well they play, too. I believe they have never sustained a defeat, though they play an eleven of every man-of-war that visits the place. They were first supplied with the necessary implements by the officers of H.M.S. “Emerald,” on board which ship I was a guest at the time. We came there professing to teach them the game, but I am afraid to say by how much we were defeated. In fact, it has become necessary to legislate on the subject of cricket, and to limit the number of days on which that game may be played to two per week. The Tongans, like some gentlemen in England and Australia, sacrificed all their time to it, and their families suffered in consequence.’

Nothing struck Admiral Cyprian Bridge during his long cruises in the Western Pacific more than ‘the great intelligence of the natives of Oceania in general, and of the Melanesians in particular. ‘Within the limited sphere of their requirements, whatever they do, they do thoroughly. ‘This will be generally admitted.’ One quality which his experience compels him to credit them with is, he says, more likely to be disputed; that is their truthfulness. Bishop John Selwyn confirms this opinion. Writing from Norfolk Island in 1874, he says:—

‘It is marvellous how like a boy, say, up to twelve or thirteen, from the Solomon Islands is to a boy from Belgravia. In point of adaptability to circumstances I should be inclined to give the palm to the former, but *qua* pickle and jokes, &c., &c., I don’t think there is a pin to choose. . . . I say it is all nonsense to say that these fellows

are not capable of higher training because they are dull at first, or to compare them with those who have had all the weight of thousands of years of at least partial civilisation to start with, and whose common everyday facts would be great discoveries to these fellows.'

On this subject we must again quote that high authority, Admiral Cyprian Bridge: -

'Several South Sea Island races are not now savage in any sense, except as to rarity of trowsers and absence of novels, and never deserved that epithet in its sense of ferocious. There is no finer people on earth than the Tongans and the closely related and but slightly less vigorous Samoans. The physical beauty of both sexes—which attains its highest development amongst the Samoan women—is paralleled by their intellectual endowment. The grace of manner and general dignity of bearing, habitual with members of chiefly families, could not be surpassed in the most polished of European courts. The contrast in these respects between the natives of high birth and the proselytising and trading white men who come to civilise them cannot escape the notice of the least observant.'

Of all the islands we have mentioned in the West Pacific New Caledonia has proved to be the richest as far as its mineral wealth is concerned, while its commanding situation to the east of Queensland adds greatly to its importance from a strategical point of view. Indeed, its position relative to Australia may be compared with that of Madagascar in relation to Africa. Discovered in 1771 by Captain Cook, it was not until d'Entrecasteaux had coasted along its western reefs in search of La Pérouse and completed what Cook had left undone, that the full extent and capacity of the future French colony was ascertained.* During the succeeding half-century the island was visited only by the South Sea traders in sandal wood, but in 1843 Monseigneur Donarre and four missionaries were landed at Balade and received hospitality by the native Kanakas. At a meeting of the islanders held in honour of the newly arrived Frenchmen, the Kanaka chief, as we are told by Father Rougeyron, declared that 'Tous les Français étaient de bons blancs et que tous les hommes d'Ohao (Nouvelle-Calédonie) devaient amour et respect aux étrangers qui allaient vivre parmi eux.' With regard to which M. Carol dryly remarks: 'Les Canaques ont eu à rabattre de cette opinion optimiste.' Indeed, the Marist brothers did not long remain at Balade, but were forced to take refuge on

* New Caledonia is 250 miles long, with an average breadth of 35 miles.

the Isle of Pines in 1847, and New Caledonia remained without a master for some years longer, although not a few Australian pioneers made their way over from Sydney prospecting for gold and introducing English manners and language among the native and sparse European inhabitants, mostly 'beachcombers,' who were settled at Nouméa.

The recognition of the island as a French possession by Great Britain was not obtained until the eve of the Crimean expedition, the flag being hoisted by Admiral Despointes in September 1853 at Nouméa, where Napoleon III. had decided to establish a prison for convicts. Within a few months the French Government issued regulations for the formation of penitentiary establishments, but ten more years rolled by before the first shipment of convicts reached the quarters prepared for them in 1861. The principles of the prison administration were benevolently supposed to be formulated by the three words, 'Réhabiliter,' 'Civiliser,' 'Produire.' But an experience of nearly forty years has, alas, but too well served to prove the fallacy of these Utopian visions. Of course the introduction of the criminal element into this magnificent island ruined its prospects as a colony, while as a place of punishment it has been manifestly a failure. M. Carol, who has recently been examining the island, its capabilities and resources, in one place speaks of New Caledonia as an 'oasis pénitentiaire, un chef-d'œuvre de philanthropie à rebours,' and in another he speaks of 'ce paradis des forçats, où la transportation et la relégation calédoniennes constituent, comme des initiés l'affirment, une véritable prime à la scélératesse.'

The criminals imported since the initiation of the special New Caledonian administration have never afforded any examples of amelioration; nor has any enterprise conducted by the convict authorities ever been productive of any profit to the establishment, which, as it was supposed, ought to have become entirely self-supporting. On the contrary, it has always remained a constant charge on the mother country.

The most varied systems have been experimented on by different governors, but none seems ever to have been persevered in sufficiently to command success. M. Carol exclaims vigorously against this constant change of policy:

'Plus qu'ailleurs, l'on a eu à souffrir, en Nouvelle-Calédonie, du régime des décrets, qui n'offre aucune garantie aux affaires de longue haleine, et de la fréquence des changements dans le personnel administratif, source d'intrigues ou d'alarmes pour les intérêts en suspens.'

L'histoire de cette petite colonie jette un jour déplorable sur notre manque de direction et d'esprit de suite. Elle compte dans ses fastes 30 gouvernements, dont 13 intérimaires, trois ou quatre systèmes de colonisation agricole, plusieurs programmes de travaux publics commencés puis abandonnés, un essai de phalanstère, deux insurrections sanglantes. Le régime douanier de 1892, avec ses exigences, ses tracasseries, son déni du droit de réciprocité, avec sa tutelle égoïste et sa conception mesquine du patriotisme, est venu couronner dignement cet édifice de fautes et de maladresses.

A few of these schemes for colonisation may be briefly glanced at. Thus a Société phalanstérienne of twenty immigrants was started under Governor Guillaum in 1864 on the banks of the river Yaté, whose work was intended to be carried out in community, but the result proved deplorable and the society speedily became bankrupt. An experiment of garden culture was next initiated at Bourail in 1870, intended for the benefit of the convicts, among whom were to be found a few skilled gardeners; and two years afterwards small grants of land were awarded to military officers and soldiers who elected to take their discharge in the colony; but few were able to do anything; the majority sold their land, and but two or three succeeded in maintaining themselves on their properties. It was at this period that numbers of prisoners, condemned to deportation after the suppression of the Communist insurrection in 1871, were brought to New Caledonia, and the rules for their management formed the subject of grave debates in the National Assembly with the object of facilitating their settlement as colonists, for not more than one third of their number belonged properly to the criminal classes, and great pains were taken to keep the political exiles apart from the transported convicts. With some of these exiles and a few Alsatians, Governor de la Richerie formed in 1873 a centre of 'petite culture familiale' at Moindou; but after the amnesty most of the politicals returned to France, and but a very few have remained satisfied with their position.

In 1873-74 an unsuccessful attempt was made by some colonists from Réunion to start a sugar plantation by the river Foa, worked by some sixty Malabars, but both machinery and capital were insufficient and the enterprise proved an utter failure. Governor Olry also formed another centre of colonisation at Koné in 1878-79 under better auspices; but, as at Moindou, the concessionnaires were colonists without a sou. They were maintained by Government for six months, at the end of which time these amateur agriculturists took

themselves elsewhere, so that by 1884 but seven remained. Between 1884 and 1888 thirty new colonists were introduced into the centre of Koné. The Government insisted on these last doing a certain amount of clearing the land, and now some fifteen out of the original number remain—an experiment which may be regarded as a success. Another batch of colonists without capital has arrived since 1888 to take the places left vacant and to complete this centre. Of these last about half have declared that their land will produce nothing, but the remaining planters at Koné seem to be fairly satisfied. Yet another experiment. The local administration, having acquired some extensive properties, had them cleared of forest, ploughed, dug up, planted, and fenced with palisades, with roads constructed, as well as houses built, all at the expense of the State. A thousand acres thus prepared were given to a Society of Colonisation, who in 1889 installed therein fifteen families, forming an effective total of 53 individuals, supplied with provisions for six months, tools, and other advantages.

In return each family was supposed to make annual repayments, but not a centime of this debt was ever received by the State. Of the fifteen families thus established there remain but four who have made a little profit by other means than agriculture. Nevertheless some increase to the population of the colony resulted, for M. Carol tells us that in New Caledonia four families at the end of ten years have given more births than eight families in France at the end of fifteen years.

Another centre was formed at Voh in 1892, where some excellent land was divided into twenty-seven properties. Here but ten families have made their living by agriculture, the others living from hand to mouth, and, contracting debts, have set up shops and cabarets of which they are themselves the chief frequenters.

Admiral Guillain, while Governor from 1862 to 1870, encouraged some old soldiers to go and live among the Kanakas, and it would seem that these have succeeded best of all. Another project of 'ce brave Amiral Guillain' is also recorded by M. Carol:—

• C'est à lui que l'on doit l'immigration d'un certain nombre d'orphelines envoyées par l'Assistance publique. La population se composant alors presque exclusivement de célibataires des deux sexes difficiles à conjoindre, il voulait favoriser le mariage, fonder de vrais foyers. Dans quelle mesure il y réussit, c'est ce qu'il serait délicat de préciser. Mais à

l'arrivée de la frégate qui portait les jeunes pupilles de l'Etat, officiers et fonctionnaires poussèrent des cris d'allégresse. On chanta :

Voici des femmes, enfin !

Merci, cher monsieur Guillain.

Et l'amiral, pendant quelques jours, fut populaire !

In fact without its mines New Caledonia would have been a profitless colony to France, useful only as a penitential dépôt, and not too successful in this respect. The discovery of the inexhaustible stores of mineral wealth which lay hidden beneath the mountain sides of the island is due to a certain M. Jules Garnier, who, while searching for coal on Mont d'Or, within sight of Nouméa, in 1875, first found traces of nickel in a green mineral ore, which has been named 'garnierite,' peculiar to New Caledonia. The conversion of this mineral was first treated by M. Caulry, who soon discovered, however, that this green ore was not nearly so rich in metal as a certain brown-coloured grit, now vulgarly termed 'chocolat,' which had hitherto been thrown aside as valueless. The importance of the New-Caledonian nickel thus obtained in the markets of the world dates from this discovery, which, however, was first practically exploited by Mr. John Higginson, who soon became the principal owner of the richest mines, which he opened after prospecting throughout the recesses of the island. Since 1875 the properties of nickel as an alloy in the manufacture of steel and other compounds of copper and zinc, as well as for nickel plating, have become widely recognised, and the consequent demand for this mineral, which, in the year of its discovery in New Caledonia, called for a yearly consumption of four hundred tons, now requires from eight to nine thousand tons in the year, and this consumption is constantly increasing. The American and Canadian nickel ore at one time held the European markets, but the New-Caledonian ore is so much more pure, and can be produced at a much cheaper rate, so that the American products have been driven off the field of competition. The principal mines, situated in the districts of Muéo and Koué, near Muéo Bay, where there is a fine harbour, are all now in the hands of a British company—the Nickel Corporation.

So, also, the copper mines in the Dialot district, on either side of the river of that name, at the mouth of the island, are owned by another British company. We believe that silver, lead, and gold mines are also worked. Not only nickel and copper, but deposits of cobalt and chrome, are

found in the same neighbourhood, deposits of decomposed serpentine rock between Mount d'Or and Unia, in the islets of Belep and Yandé, in Oland Bay and elsewhere. But we have no space to devote to the mineral riches of New Caledonia. What we have already said about them is sufficient to indicate their great value and importance, besides the fact that they are mostly owned, not by French but by German and British capitalists. We trust that our experiences of the uitlander troubles at Johannesburg may not find a repetition in this Antipodean French territory. *Absit omen.*

Admiral Cyprian Bridge's forecast of the future development of the Western Pacific is, we venture to think, too pessimistic. It does not seem to him that the Pacific islands are likely for generations yet to come to be of any use to mankind at large. To be of any profitable use for Europeans is, perhaps, what he meant to say, for he added: 'Fertile as they may be, they can only be made productive with labour of which no man can say where it is to be obtained.' Whether it may be the best for the natives themselves that their lands should be exploited for the profit of the European race is a question of ethics which we would rather not answer too plainly. The senior foreign secretary of the London Missionary Society has put the question lately as to how far it is justifiable for any one Power to hand over to any other Power sovereign rights in islands over which it has not itself exercised any sovereignty in the past, and to deal with the people as if they were part and parcel of the soil, without any personal right to express their preference. Such was the case with Madagascar, it may be remembered, in 1890, when the Hovas, who had been christianised by the London Missionary Society, were handed over by us to a French protectorate, wholly against their will, an act which led to disastrous wars and calamity, whose effects are even now not wholly assuaged. In like manner we have now handed over to the mercies of the Germans, together with the islands of Samoa, some thirty-five thousand Samoan Christians, of whom at least thirty thousand have been, and are, under the direct care and instruction of our Congregational and Wesleyan missionaries, who have been careful, as we are told, not to anglicise their pupils. This is the acme of political morality at which we have arrived on the close of the nineteenth century. Indeed, trade interests would appear to be everything nowadays, when even the Union

Jack has come to be looked upon as a 'commercial asset.'

The French missionaries, on the other hand, regard with complacency the appropriation of native lands and the disposal of the natives themselves, but only when they are savages, and we know that the Samoans cannot be regarded as barbarians. Hear what Monseigneur Vitte, Vicaire apostolique of New Caledonia, has to say on this subject :—

'C'est un principe admis chez les nations civilisées, que les peuplades sauvages ne forment pas un peuple proprement dit; qu'elles ne possèdent pas ce pouvoir social nommé par nous l'État, ni tous les droits qui lui appartiennent. Naturellement incapables de triompher par elles-mêmes d'une barbarie qui les rend dangereuses, elles peuvent être conquises légitimement, par toute nation civilisée et soumises à ses lois. Or, une de ces lois est que toute terre non occupée est du domaine de l'État, et que celui-ci a le droit d'en disposer pour le bien public.'

To which M. Carol adds :—

'Quand, sans provocation, nous dépossédons de son patrimoine (la chose s'est vue) un peuple organisé, autonome, régi par des lois fixes, avide de progrès social, déjà fort avancé en civilisation, mais ayant ce grand tort de n'avoir pas la peau de la même couleur que la nôtre, nous commettons, vis-à-vis de ce peuple-là, une violation du droit des gens.'

The present administration in New Caledonia certainly seems to be acting fairly towards the Kanakas; and our rule in New Guinea is apparently proceeding on right methods. Some writers have supposed that the gradual depopulation of the Pacific islands has been going on for years, even before the appearance of white men on the scene, and that the Polynesians are fated to disappear before long. But in some of the islands—such as Tonga and Savage Islands—there seems to be a renewal of the lease of propagation; while in the Gilbert or Kingsmill Islands we are told :—

'The overflowing swarms of population are a continual source of surprise. Some of the islands seem to form one great village. The very smallest of these atolls, only two miles across, has a population of from 1,500 to 2,000, while Taputeuea has from 7,000 to 8,000. The population of the whole group is estimated at over 40,000, while the area of dry land is not more than 170 square miles, giving more than 230 persons per square mile, while in some of the islands it is said to reach 400 per square mile—a density of population certainly unequalled in the world in any area where the people depend for food solely on their own exertions.

So—without calling in Chinese immigration, which our Australasian colonies would not tolerate, or even without negro or that Indian coolie labour by which the Mauritius sugar plantations were rendered so profitable not many years since—we may be able to find a hardy, prolific, mixed race of labourers, said to be of an energetic temperament within our British possessions, capable of making the fertile soil of the West Pacific islands productive of sugar, cotton, and other crops, which have formerly made fortunes for our planters in the West Indies and elsewhere. Some of the islands, such as Espiritu Santo, are much larger than Mauritius, where crops of cane producing 130,000 tons of sugar for exportation have been obtained. But although our class of traders in the Western Pacific has improved very much in the last few years, the Germans are still ahead of us in this respect, for they send out clerks better educated than ours, capable of speaking French and English besides their own language, while our young Englishmen can seldom speak any language except their own. Fortunately, the natives of Polynesia learn English with more ease than German; and even in New Caledonia the Kanakas acquire English in the neighbourhood of the mines where our Cornish miners are at work.

Certainly for some years to come our object should not be to extract all the profit possible out of our new possessions in the Western Pacific. Our first duty is towards the native inhabitants, and our chief endeavours should be directed towards saving them from parting with their patrimony to all those grasping syndicates and monopolising companies which spread their financial trail over whole archipelagoes. Should a generous policy be carried out, more for the benefit of the native populations than for the exhibition of a prosperous budget, we may look forward to a sure recompense in the loyalty of the inhabitants, and therefore an inexpensive administration over them. Romilly tells us how when he arrived out in Fiji in 1879—a friend of Sir Arthur Gordon, without employment—he was sent off in command of a party to make the natives of a neighbouring island, Kandavu, pick cotton to pay their taxes. This is decidedly unpleasant reading. But that is too often the first object of a civilian official despatched by the Colonial Office to take charge of a newly acquired possession—to make it pay, to show a surplus.* Admiral Cyprian

* We must point to Mr. Woodford's modest budget for the Solomon

Bridge indicates the right path to be pursued when he writes :—

‘ As we have chosen to go to New Guinea uninvited, we are bound in honour to do all the good we can to the races who have not resented our intrusion, but have received us as friends. If we do not take the proper steps, we shall soon find that we have a wolf by the ears. We have a noble chance—we are not likely to have another—of showing that Englishmen can rule barbarians without exterminating them or dispossessing them of their lands. I believe it possible to make New Guinea happy, prosperous, and civilised; I also believe that it may, and in no long time, be made self-supporting. But the right method must be adopted, and a system to suit politicians here and in Australia may be utterly unsuited to the conditions of the country. If the latter be adopted, the natives will deserve all the pity we can give them.’

If our foreign and colonial officials in Whitehall would take into more consideration the honour of the flag which our naval and military officers have ever in mind, we might have fewer of these diplomatic games of chance and skill in which the weal of fellow creatures is passed from hand to hand like the counters of Napoleon :—

‘ Whose game was empires, and whose stakes were thrones,
Whose table earth—whose dice were human bones.’

Islands as a promising indication of a more righteous and humane policy.

ART. X.—*Henry Hart Milman, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's.*
A biographical sketch by his son ARTHUR MILMAN, M.A.,
LL.D. London: 1900.

THE great prominence which the High Church movement has assumed in the ecclesiastical history of England during the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century, and the extraordinary success with which it has permeated the Established Church by its influence, have led some writers to exaggerate not a little the place which it occupied in the general intellectual developement of the time. In the universities, it is true, it long exercised an extraordinary influence, and Mr. Gladstone, who was by far the most remarkable layman whom it profoundly influenced, was accustomed to say that for at least a generation almost the whole of the best intellect of Oxford was controlled by it. It possessed in Newman a writer of most striking and undoubted genius. In an age remarkable for brilliancy of style he was one of the greatest masters of English prose. His power of drawing subtle distinctions and pursuing long trains of subtle reasoning made him one of the most skilful of controversialists, and he had a great insight into spiritual cravings and an admirable gift of interpreting and appealing to many forms of religious emotion. But though he was a man of rare, delicate, and most seductive genius, we have sometimes doubted whether any of his books are destined to take a permanent and considerable place in English literature. He was not a great scholar, or an original and independent thinker. Dealing with questions inseparably connected with historical evidence, he had neither the judicial spirit nor the firm grasp of a real historian, and he had very little skill in measuring probabilities and degrees of evidence. He had a manifest incapacity, which was quite as much moral as intellectual, for looking facts in the face and pursuing trains of thought to unwelcome conclusions. He often took refuge from them in clouds of casuistry. The scepticism which was a marked feature of his intellect allied itself closely with credulity, for it was directed against reason itself; and though he has expressed in admirable language many true and beautiful thoughts, the glamour of his style too often concealed much weakness and uncertainty of judgement and much sophistry in argument.

Many of those who co-operated with him were men of

great learning and distinguished ability. No one will question the patristic knowledge of Pusey, the metaphysical acumen of Ward, the genuine vein of religious poetry in Keble and Faber, the wide accomplishments and scholarly criticism of Church. But on the whole the broad stream of English thought has gone in other directions. In politics the Oxford movement had brilliant representatives in Gladstone and Selborne, but the ideal of the relations of Church and State, and the ideal of education to which the Oxford school aspired, have been absolutely discarded. The universities have been secularised. The Irish Established Church, which it was one of the first objects of the party to defend, has been abolished by Gladstone himself, and although the English Established Church retains its hold on the affections of the nation, it is defended by its most skilful supporters on very different grounds and by very different arguments from those which were put forward by the Oxford divines. Among the foremost names in lay literature during the fifty years we are considering, it is curious to observe how few were even touched by the movement. Froude is an exception, but he speedily repudiated it. The mediæval sympathies that were sometimes shown by Ruskin sprang from a wholly different source. Macaulay, Carlyle, Hallam, Grote, Mill, Buckle, Tennyson, Browning, and the great novelists, from Dickens to George Eliot, all wrote very much as they might have written if the movement had never existed. An unusual proportion of the best intellect of England passed into the fields of physical science, and the methods of reasoning and habits of thought which they inculcated were wholly out of harmony with the school of Newman, while both geology and Darwinism have made serious incursions into long-cherished beliefs. Even in the Church itself, though the High Church movement was stronger than any other, great deductions have to be made. The school of independent biblical criticism, which in various degrees has come to be generally accepted, certainly owed nothing to it, and several of the most illustrious Churchmen of this period were wholly alien to it. Thirlwall and Merivale were conspicuous examples, but they devoted themselves chiefly to great works of secular history. Arnold—who was one of the strongest personal influences of his age, and whose influence was both perpetuated and widened by Dean Stanley—and Whately, who was one of the most independent and original thinkers of the nineteenth century, were strongly antagonistic. In the field of ecclesiastical history

it might have been expected that a school which was at once so scholarly and so wedded to tradition would have been pre-eminent, but no ecclesiastical histories which England has produced can, on the whole, be placed on as high a level as those which were written by the great Broad Church divine whose name stands at the head of this article.

Milman was, indeed, a man well deserving of commemoration on account of the works which he produced, yet it is perhaps not too much to say that to those among whom he lived the man seemed even greater than his works. For many years he was a central and most popular figure in the best English literary society, and he reckoned most of the leading intellects of his day among his friends. He was in an extraordinary degree many-sided both in his knowledge and his sympathies. He was an admirable critic, and the eminent sanity of his judgement, as well as the eminent kindness of his nature, combined with a great charm both of manner and of conversation. Few men of his time had more friends, and were more admired, consulted, and loved.

Mr. Arthur Milman has sketched his father's life in one short volume, written in excellent English and with uniformly good taste. We have read it with much interest, yet in laying it down it is impossible not to be sensible how much of the personal charm which was so conspicuous in its subject has passed beyond recovery. More than thirty years have gone by since the old Dean was laid in his grave, and but few of those who knew him intimately survive. He appears to have kept no journal. He wrote nothing autobiographical, and he had a strong sense of the chasm that should separate private from public life. It was wholly contrary to his unegotistical nature to make the great public the confidant of his domestic affairs or of his inner feelings, and he was deeply sensible of the injustice which is so often done by biographers in printing unguarded, unqualified opinions and judgements, expressed in the freedom of private correspondence. He acted sternly on this view. Many of the foremost men in England were among his correspondents, but he deliberately burnt their letters. 'I could never bear,' we have heard him say, 'that what was written to me by dear friends in the most unreserved and absolute confidence should, through my fault, be one day dragged before the public.' This reticence and this strong feeling of the sanctity of friendship and private correspondence, which is now becoming very rare, was one of his most characteristic traits, but it

has necessarily deprived his biography of many elements of interest.

He was the youngest son of Sir Francis Milman, the well-known physician of George III. He was born in 1791, and educated at Eton and Oxford, where he soon distinguished himself as one of the most brilliant of students. He won the Newdigate in 1812, the Chancellor's prize for Latin verse in 1813, the prize for English and Latin essays in 1816. He obtained a first class in classics, and in 1815 he was elected a Fellow of his college. He was ordained in the following year, and a year later Lord Eldon, who was then Chancellor of the university, nominated him to the vicarage of St. Mary at Reading, where he spent eighteen happy and fruitful years. Like most young and brilliant men, he first turned to verse, and for several years he poured out in rapid succession a number of dramas and poems which have been collected in three substantial volumes. The tragedy of 'Fazio' was written when he was still at Oxford, and it was speedily followed by a long and ambitious epic poem called 'Samor, Lord of the Bright City;' by three elaborate sacred dramas, the 'Fall of Jerusalem,' the 'Martyr of Antioch,' and 'Belshazzar;' and by an historical tragedy on 'Anne Boleyn,' as well as by a few minor poems.

Some of these works had considerable popularity. 'Fazio' for many years held its place on the stage. Byron, in one of his letters to Rogers, speaks of its 'great and 'deserved success' when it was brought out at Covent Garden. Its heroine was a favourite part of Miss O'Neil and of Fanny Kemble. It was translated into Italian by Del Ongaro for Ristori, who acted it with admirable power, and there was also a French translation or adaptation in which Mademoiselle Mars took part. The 'Fall of Jerusalem' was never intended for the stage, but it had a great literary success. Murray, who had given only a hundred and fifty guineas for 'Fazio,' gave five hundred for the 'Fall of Jerusalem,' and he gave the same sum both for the 'Martyr of Antioch' and for 'Belshazzar,' which succeeded it. Neither of these, however, proved as popular as the 'Fall of Jerusalem,' but the 'Martyr of Antioch' contains that noble funeral ode beginning 'Brother, thou art gone before us, and thy saintly soul is flown,' which is familiar to numbers who are probably not aware of its authorship. It is worthy of notice that as recently as 1880 Sir Arthur Sullivan set the 'Martyr of Antioch' to music

and brought it out at the Leeds Festival, where it achieved an immediate and brilliant success, and was frequently performed.* On the other hand, 'Samor' and 'Anne Boleyn' were almost absolute failures, and, on the whole, the longer poems of Milman have not retained their popularity, and probably now rarely find a reader.

Those who turn to them will certainly be struck by the command of language and metre they display. It was shown both in rhyme and in blank verse. Many fine odes are scattered through them, and in the octosyllabic verse Milman always appears to us peculiarly happy. But his poetry, like most of the poetry that was written under the Byronic influence, was rather the poetry of rhetoric than of imagination, and it wanted both the intensity and the concentration of the great master. Stately, sonorous, fluent, unfailingly lucid, it was too lengthy and too artificial, and Lockhart was not wholly wrong in pronouncing that it showed 'fine talents but no genius,' and in urging that prose rather than poetry was the vehicle in which its author was destined to succeed. In addition, however, to the funeral ode to which we have referred, Milman has written many hymns, and some of these are of singular beauty. They appeared originally in the collection of that other great hymn-writer, Bishop Heber, who was one of his dearest friends, and one of the men to whose memory he looked back with the fondest affection. The Good Friday hymn, 'Bound upon th' accursèd tree,' the Palm Sunday hymn, 'Ride on, ride on in majesty,' and perhaps still more that exquisitely pathetic hymn (so often misprinted in modern hymn-books) beginning

' When our heads are bowed with woe,
When our bitter tears o'erflow,'

have long since taken their permanent place in devotional literature.

In another and very different field of poetry also he greatly excelled. He was an admirable example of that highly finished and fastidious classical scholarship which is, or was, the pride of our great public schools, and he took great pleasure in translations from the classics. He translated into verse the 'Agamemnon' of Æschylus, and the 'Bacchanals' of Euripides, and also a great number of small and much less known poems. He held the professorship of poetry at Oxford from 1821 to 1831, and as

* Laurence's 'Life of Sir A. Sullivan,' p. 310.

his lectures, according to the custom which then prevailed, were delivered in Latin, he had the happy thought of diversifying them by English metrical translations of the different poems he treated. They range over a wide field of obscure Greek poets, as well as of epitaphs, votive inscriptions, and inscriptions relating to the fine arts, and in addition to these there are translations from Sanscrit poetry—a branch of knowledge which was then very little cultivated, and to which Milman was greatly attracted. These poems the author published in 1865, but the lectures in which they were produced he committed to the flames. They had, in his opinion, lost their value through the subsequent publication of the works on the history of Greek literature by Bode, Ulrici, Otfried Müller, and Mure.

In prose his pen was exceedingly active. In 1820 he began his long connexion with the ‘Quarterly Review,’ which continued, with occasional intervals, through more than forty years. His articles extended over a great variety of subjects, but most of them were essentially reviews and essentially critical. The fact that he was both a poet and an accomplished critic of verse caused some persons to ascribe to him the authorship of two articles which had an unhappy reputation—the criticism which was falsely supposed to have hastened the death of Keats, and the attack upon the ‘Alastor’ of Shelley, a poet for whom Milman had a special admiration. It is now well known that neither of these articles was by him, but it is characteristic of his loyalty to his colleagues that he never disclaimed the authorship. This loyalty was indeed not less conspicuous in his nature than the singular kindness of disposition with which he ever shrank from giving pain. After his death a few of his many essays in the ‘Quarterly’ were collected in one volume. Among them there is an admirable account of Erasmus, with whom in mental characteristics he had considerable affinity.

In 1829 appeared his first historical work, the ‘History of the Jews,’ a work which excited a violent storm of theological indignation. The crime of Milman was that he applied to Jewish history the usual canons of historical criticism—sifting evidence, discriminating between documents, pointing out the parallelisms between Jewish conditions and those of other Oriental nations, and attempting to separate in the sacred writings the parts which were essential and revealed from those which were merely human and fallible. In a remarkable preface to a revised and

enlarged edition of this work, which was published thirty years later, he laid down very clearly the principles that had guided him. The Jewish writers, in his opinion, were

‘men of their age and country who, as they spoke the language, so they thought the thoughts of their nation and their time. . . . They had no special knowledge on any subject but moral and religious truth to distinguish them from other men, and were as fallible as others on all questions of science, and even of history, extraneous to their religious teaching. . . . Their one paramount object being instruction and enlightenment in religion, they left their hearers uninstructed and unenlightened as before in other things. . . . In all other respects society, civilisation, developed itself according to its usual laws. The Hebrew in the wilderness, excepting as far as the Law modified his manners and habits, was an Arab of the desert. Abraham, except in his worship and intercourse with the One True God, was a nomad Sheik. . . . The moral and religious truth, and this alone, I apprehend, is “the Word of God” contained in the sacred writings.’

It must also, he contended, be always remembered that the Semitic records are of an ‘essentially Oriental, figurative, ‘poetical cast,’ and that it is therefore wholly erroneous to suppose that every word can be construed with the precision of an Act of Parliament or of a simple modern historical narrative.

His attitude towards the miraculous was carefully defined. He observed the absolute impossibility of evading the conclusion that the Jewish writers, whether eye-witnesses or not, implicitly believed in ‘the supernaturalism, the divine ‘or miraculous agency almost throughout the older history ‘of the Jews,’ and that it is ‘an integral, inseparable part ‘of the narrative.’ Sometimes it is possible ‘with more or ‘less probability to detect the naked fact which may lie ‘beneath the imaginative or marvellous language in which ‘it is recorded; but even in these cases the solution can ‘be hardly more than conjectural.’ In other cases ‘the ‘supernatural so entirely predominates and is so of the ‘intimate essence of the transaction that the facts and ‘the interpretation must be accepted together or rejected ‘together.’ In such cases it is the duty of the historian simply ‘to relate the facts as recorded, to adduce his ‘authorities, and to abstain from all explanation for which ‘he has no ground.’

The distinction between the providential and the strictly miraculous appears to him impossible to draw. ‘Belief in ‘Divine Providence, in the agency of God as the Prime ‘Mover in the Natural world as in the mind of Man, is an

‘inseparable part of religion. There can be no religion ‘without it.’ But in numerous cases, to distinguish between the simply providential and the strictly miraculous implies a knowledge of the working of natural causes greater than we possess; and in certain stages of civilisation, and very eminently in the Jewish mind, there is a marked tendency to suppress secondary causes, and to attribute not only the more extraordinary but also the common events of life to direct divine agency. The possibility and the reality of the miraculous he emphatically asserts.

‘The palmary miracle of all, the Resurrection, stands entirely by itself. Every attempt to resolve it into a natural event, a delusion or hallucination in the minds of the disciples, the eye-witnesses and death-defying witnesses to its truth, or to treat it as an allegory or figure of speech, is to me a signal failure. It must be accepted as the keystone—for such it is—and seal to the great Christian doctrine of a future life, as a historical fact, or rejected as a baseless fable.’

But great numbers of what were deemed miracles may be explained by natural causes, by figurative modes of expression which were common in Oriental nations, by the tendency of the human mind to embellish or exaggerate surprising facts, or invent supernatural causes for what it is unable to explain, by the retrospective imagination which seeks to dignify the distant past with a supernatural halo. The early annals of all nations are strewn with pretended miracles which no one will now maintain, and Milman shows in a powerful passage how the idea of the miraculous has been steadily contracting and receding; how dangerous it is to base the defence of Christianity on the evidence of miracles rather than on appeals to the conscience, the moral sense, the innate religiousness, the deep spiritual cravings of human nature.

Such views, though now sufficiently commonplace, seemed very novel in England when Milman wrote. Dean Stanley described his work as ‘the first decisive inroad of German ‘theology into England; the first palpable indication that ‘the Bible could be studied like another book; that the ‘characters and events of sacred history could be treated ‘at once critically and reverently.’ But though Milman was very well acquainted with German theology, he resented the notion that he was its interpreter or representative. He contended that in restricting the province of inspiration to the direct inculcation of religious truth he was following a sound Anglican tradition. He quoted the authority of Paley and Warburton, of Tillotson and Secker. In such

principles of interpretation he said he had found 'a safe-guard during a long and not unreflective life against the difficulties arising out of the philosophical and historical researches of his time.' They had enabled him 'to follow out all the marvellous discoveries of science, and all those hardly less marvellous, if less certain, conclusions of historical, ethnological, linguistic criticism, in the serene confidence that they are utterly irrelevant to the truth of Christianity.' 'If on such subjects,' he concluded, 'some solid ground be not found on which highly educated, reflective, reading, reasoning men may find firm footing, I can foresee nothing but a wide, a widening—I fear, an irreparable—breach between the thought and the religion of England. A comprehensive, all-embracing, truly Catholic Christianity which knows what is essential to religion, what is temporary and extraneous to it, may defy the world.'

These words are taken from the later preface to which we have referred. In the same preface, and also in his 'History of Christianity,' may be found some interesting remarks on the German school of Biblical criticism, the greater portion of which has arisen since the original publication of the 'History of the Jews.' In many of its conclusions he had anticipated it, and he was quite as sensible as the German writers of the hopelessness of seeking scientific revelations in the Biblical narrative; of the worthlessness of most of the common schemes for reconciling science and theology; of the untrustworthy character of Jewish chronology and Jewish figures; of the grave doubts that hang over the authorship and the date of some of the books; of the necessity of making full allowance when reading them for human fallibility and inaccuracy. At the same time his admiration for the German critics was by no means unqualified. While fully admitting their extraordinary learning, industry, and ingenuity, he complained that their too common infirmity was 'a passion for making history without historical materials,' basing the most dogmatic and positive statements upon faint indications, or upon ingenious conjectures that could not legitimately go beyond a very low degree of probability. The assurance with which these writers undertook by internal evidence to decompose ancient documents, assigning each paragraph to an independent source; the decisive weight they were accustomed to give to slight improbabilities or coincidences, and to small variations of style and phraseology; the con-

fidence with which they put forward solutions or conjectures which, however ingenious or plausible, were based on no external evidence as if they were proved facts, appeared to him profoundly unhistorical.

It must have been somewhat irritating to one who clung so closely to University life, and who had been justly regarded as one of the most brilliant of Oxford scholars, to find that his own University was prominent in the condemnation of the 'History of the Jews.' Only two years before he had preached with general approbation the Bampton Lectures in defence of Christianity. His new work was again and again condemned from the University pulpits, and among others by the Margaret Professor of Divinity, and by the Hulsean lecturer for 1832. The clamour was naturally taken up in many other quarters, and especially by the religious newspapers. It was noticed that 'Milman's History' appeared in the window of Carlisle, the infidel bookseller.

'I only wish,' wrote Milman, when the fact was brought to his notice, 'all Carlisle's customers would read it. A noble lord once wrote to the bishop of a certain diocese to complain that a baronet who lived in the same parish brought his mistress to church, which sorely shocked his regular family. The bishop gravely assured him that he was very glad to hear that Sir —— brought his naughty lady to church, and hoped that she would profit by what she heard there and amend her ways. So say I of Carlisle's customers.' *

The Jews themselves were much pleased and flattered by the book, and subscribed a piece of plate as a testimonial to the author.

The opinions expressed in this, as in his later works, no doubt in some degree obstructed the promotion of Milman in the Church, but he had no reason to regret it. Of all men, he once said, he thought he owed most to Bishop Blomfield, for there was once a question of offering him a bishopric, and it was a remonstrance of the Bishop of London that prevented it. 'I am afraid,' he said, 'that if it had been offered me I should have accepted it, and I should then never have written my "Latin Christianity."' But, though he escaped the fate which has cut short the best work of more than one distinguished historian, his conspicuous position among the scholars and writers in the Church was widely recognised, and he was soon transferred from a provincial town to a central position in the Metropolis.

* Smith's 'Memoirs of J. Murray,' ii. p. 300.

In 1835 Sir Robert Peel made him Rector of St. Margaret's, Westminster, and Prebendary in the Abbey. Though continuing without intermission his historical work, he appears to have discharged with exemplary vigour the duties of a large and poor parish until 1849, when Lord John Russell appointed him Dean of St. Paul's. The position was exactly suited to him. It was one of much dignity, but also of much leisure, and it gave him ample opportunities of pursuing the studies which were the true work of his life.

The great subject of the history of Christianity was, indeed, continually before him. Among other things, he studied minutely both the text and the authorities of Gibbon, for whom he had a deep and growing admiration. An excellent edition of Gibbon was one of the first results. Milman's notes have been included in Smith's later edition, and, though a large proportion of them were naturally somewhat controversial, being devoted to refuting some of the conclusions of the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters, it is impossible to read them without recognising the candour as well as the learning and the acumen of the critic. Few things that Milman has written are finer than the preface in which, in ten or twelve masterly pages, he sums up his estimate of his great predecessor.

The three volumes of the 'History of Christianity,' dealing with its early history up to the period of the abolition of Paganism in the Roman Empire, appeared in 1840, and they were followed by the six large volumes of the 'History of Latin Christianity,' carrying the history of the Western Church to the end of the Pontificate of Nicholas V. in 1455. This great work was published in two instalments—the first three volumes in 1854, and the remaining three in the following year—and it gave its author indisputably the first place among the ecclesiastical historians of England and a high place among the historians of the nineteenth century. He possessed, indeed, in an eminent degree some of the qualities that are most rare, and at the same time most valuable, in ecclesiastical history. A large proportion of the most learned ecclesiastical historians have been men who have devoted their whole lives to this single department of knowledge, who derived from it all their measures of probability and canons of criticism, and who, treating it as an isolated and mainly supernatural thing, have taken very little account of the intellectual and political secular influences that have largely shaped its course. Most of them also have been men who undertook their task with convic-

tions and habits of thought that were absolutely incompatible with real independence and impartiality of judgement in estimating either the events or the characters they described. Milman was wholly free from these defects. His wide knowledge, his cool, critical, admirably trained judgement, were never better shown than in the many pages in which he has pointed out the analogies or resemblances between Jewish and other Oriental beliefs; the manner in which national characteristics or secular intellectual tendencies affected theological types; the countless modifications in belief or practice which grew up, as the Church accommodated itself to the conditions of successive ages and entered into alliance or conflict with different political systems; the many indirect, subtle, far-reaching ways in which the world and the Church interacted upon each other in all the great departments of speculation, art, industry, social and political life. A certain aloofness and coldness of judgement in dealing with sacred subjects was the reproach which was most frequently brought against him. As he himself said, he wrote rather as an historian than a religious instructor, and he dealt with his subject chiefly in its temporal, social, and political aspects. Justice and impartiality of judgement to friend and foe he deemed one of the first moral duties of an historian, and Dean Church was not wrong in ascribing to him a quite 'unusual combination of the strongest feeling about right and wrong with the largest equity.' 'What a delightful book, so tolerant of the intolerant!' was his characteristic eulogy of the work of another writer, and it truly reflects the turn of his own mind. Provost Hawtrey, who was no mean judge of men, said, after an intimacy of nearly fifty years, that he had never known a man who possessed in a greater degree than Milman the virtue of Christian charity in its highest and rarest form. It was a gift which stood him in good stead in dealing with the very blended characters, the tangled politics, the often misguided enthusiasms of ecclesiastical history. While he was constitutionally extremely averse to the moral casuistry which confuses the boundaries of right and wrong, he had too sound a grasp of the evolution of history to fall into the common error of judging the acts of one age by the moral standards of another. His history was eminently a history of large lines and broad tendencies. The growth, influence, and decline of the Papacy—the distinctive characteristics of Latin and Teutonic Christianity; the effect of Christianity on jurisprudence; the monastic system in its various phases;

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the rise and conquests of Mohammedanism; the severance of Greek from Latin Christianity; Charlemagne, Hildebrand, the Crusades, the Templars, the Great Councils; the decay of Latin and the rise of modern languages; the influence of the Church on literature, painting, sculpture, and architecture – are but a few of the great subjects he has treated, always with knowledge and intelligence, often with conspicuous brilliancy.

In so vast a field there were, no doubt, many subjects which have been treated with a greater fulness and completeness by other writers. There are some in which subsequent research has gone far to supersede what Milman has written, and inaccuracies of detail not unfrequently crept into his work; but in the truthfulness of its broad lines, in the sagacity of its estimates both of men and events, it holds a high place among the histories of the world. Very few historians have combined in a larger measure the three great requisites of knowledge, soundness of judgement, and inexorable love of truth. The growth and modifications of doctrines and the minutiae of religious controversies were, however, subjects in which he took little interest, and though they could not be excluded from an ecclesiastical history, they are dealt with only in a slight and cursory manner. Those who desire to study in detail this side of ecclesiastical history will find other histories much more useful. Critics of different religious schools have complained that his mind was essentially secular; that he had a low sense of the certainty and the importance of dogma; that there were some classes of ecclesiastical writers who have been deeply revered in the Church with whom he had no real sympathy; that the spirit of criticism was stronger in his book than the spirit of reverence; that he did not do full justice to the spiritual and inner side of the religion he described. He looked upon it, they said, too externally. He valued it as a moral revolution, the introduction of new principles of virtue and new rules for individual and social happiness. Much of this criticism would probably have been accepted with but little qualification by Milman himself. He would have said that what these writers complained of was in the main inseparable from an historical as distinguished from a devotional treatment of his subject. He would have added that no form of human history reveals so clearly as ecclesiastical history the fallibility, the credulity, the intolerance of the human mind, or requires more imperatively the constant exercise of independent judgement

and of fearless and unsparing criticism, and that, if the history of the Church is ever to be written with profit, it must be written in such a spirit. Of his own deeper convictions he seldom spoke; but in the concluding page of his 'Latin Christianity' there is a passage of profound interest. Leaving it, as he says, to the future historian of religion to say what part of the ancient dogmatic system may be allowed to fall silently into disuse, and what transformations the interpretation of the Sacred Writings may still undergo, he adds these significant words:—

'As it is my own confident belief that the words of Christ, and His words alone (the primal indefeasible truths of Christianity), shall not pass away, so I cannot presume to say that men may not attain to a clearer, at the same time more full, comprehensive, and balanced sense of those words, than has as yet been generally received in the Christian world. As all else is transient and mutable, these only eternal and universal, assuredly whatever light may be thrown on the mental constitution of man, even on the constitution of nature and the laws which govern the world, will be concentrated so as to give a more penetrating vision of those undying truths. . . Christianity may yet have to exercise a far wider, even if more silent and untraceable influence, through its primary, all-pervading principles, on the civilisation of mankind.'

Macaulay, speaking of the 'History of Latin Christianity' in his Journal, says, 'I was more impressed than ever by the contrast between the substance and the style: the substance is excellent; the style very much otherwise.' Looking at it from a purely literary point of view, it had undoubtedly great merits. Milman had an admirable sense of proportion—a rare quality in history. He was invariably lucid, and it is easy to cull from his history many characters excellently drawn, many pages of vivid narrative, or terse and weighty criticism. Still, on the whole his historic style is on a much lower level than that of Macaulay, Buckle, and Froude, though it will compare, we think, not unfavourably with that of Hallam and Grote. The points of controversy are usually relegated to his notes, which contain a great mass of curious learning and excellent criticism. The reader who turns to them from works of the German School will be struck by his strong English common sense and grasp of facts, and his dislike of subtle far-fetched ingenuities of explanation. He has the crowning merit of being always readable, and his strong sane moral sense never left him. He was probably at his best in the later volumes, when he could treat his subject like secular history and was

free from the embarrassing theological difficulties of the earlier portion, and he is especially admirable in those chapters which give scope to his wide literary and artistic sympathies. He was an excellent Italian scholar and keenly sensible of the beauties of Italian literature, and his love of the ancient classics never left him. There was something at once characteristic and amusing in the delight which he again and again expressed, after the termination of his *History*, at being able to return to them after spending so many years in reading bad Latin and Greek. In taste and character he was indeed pre-eminently a man of letters, and as such he ranks in the first line among his contemporaries.

The outburst of indignation that in some quarters had greeted the first appearance of the '*History of the Jews*' was not repeated when that work was republished in an enlarged form. Nor does it appear to have arisen on the appearance of the two later histories. Newman reviewed the '*History of Early Christianity*' at great length, speaking with much personal respect of the writer, though he was naturally extremely hostile to its spirit. The difference between the High Church sentiment and the mind of Milman was indeed organic. Milman's own type of thought was formed before the Tractarian movement had begun; the sacerdotal spirit was thoroughly alien to him, and his profound study of ecclesiastical history had certainly not tended to attract him to it. He fully recognised both the abilities and the piety of Newman, and he described his secession as perhaps the greatest loss the Church of England had experienced since the Reformation; but he disliked his opinions, he profoundly distrusted the whole character of his mind and reasonings, and he early foresaw that he could never find a permanent resting-place in the English Church. In the posthumous volume of *Essays* there will be found a full and most searching examination of Newman's '*Essay on Development*,' in which these points of difference are clearly shown. For Keble, Milman entertained warmer feelings. They were contemporaries, and at one time most intimate friends. In the field of sacred poetry they had been fellow labourers. Keble had succeeded Milman as professor of poetry, and Milman had been one of the few persons who had read the '*Christian Year*' in manuscript. When, after Keble's death, a committee was appointed to erect a memorial to his memory, Milman was much hurt at finding that it was determined to give it a distinctly Trac-

tarian character, and that his own name was deliberately excluded. In Milman's last years the Oxford movement had begun to assume its ritualistic form, and questions of vestments and ceremonies and candles came to the forefront. With all this Milman had no sympathy. 'After the drama,' he said of it, 'the melodrama!'

It was a remarkable coincidence that for some years the two deaneries of London were both held by brilliant men of letters and by men with the strongest theological sympathy. A feeling of warm personal affection united Milman and Stanley, and there was something peculiarly touching in the almost filial attitude which Stanley assumed towards his older colleague. In one point, however, they differed greatly. Stanley was a keen fighter. He threw himself into the forefront of ecclesiastical controversies, and was never seen to greater advantage than when leading a small minority, defying inveterate prejudice, defending an unpopular cause. Milman could seldom be tempted to follow his example. He pleaded old age and declining strength, but, in truth, though he never flinched from the avowal of his own opinions, he had a deep and increasing distaste for religious controversies and Church politics. He was rarely seen in Convocation, and he always regarded its revival as a misfortune. He proposed, however, in it a petition for the discontinuance of the use of the State services commemorating the martyrdom of Charles I., the restoration of Charles II., the discovery of the gunpowder plot, and the Revolution of 1688; and Parliament soon after adopted his view. He also sat on the Royal Commission in 1864 for considering the subject of clerical subscription. He took on this occasion a characteristic line, advocating a complete abolition of the subscription of the Articles, and desiring that the sole test of membership of the Church should be the acceptance of the Liturgy and the Creeds. In 1865 he received an invitation, which greatly gratified him, to preach before the University of Oxford the annual sermon on Hebrew prophecy. The sermon was delivered in the pulpit of St. Mary's, where many years before he had been so vehemently condemned for views on the same subject, no one of which, as he truly said, he had either recanted or modified. His sermon was afterwards printed, and would form a worthy chapter of his 'History of the Jews.' In the Colenso controversy he had no great sympathy with either side. Many of Bishop Colenso's arguments appeared to him crude or exaggerated, and he dissented from many of

his conclusions, but he considered that he had been treated with gross injustice and intolerance, and he accordingly subscribed to his defence fund. For the rest, he confined his ecclesiastical life as much as possible to his own cathedral, where he presided over the State funeral of the Duke of Wellington, and where he introduced the custom of throwing open the nave to evening services. His last and unfinished work was his '*Annals of St. Paul*,' investigating its history and portraying with his old learning and with much of his old felicity the lives of his predecessors.

It was however in secular literary society that he was most fitted to shine, and there he passed many of his happiest hours. The usual honours of a distinguished man of letters clustered thickly around him. He was a trustee of the British Museum; an honorary member of the Royal Academy; a correspondent of the Institut of France. He was also a member of '*The Club*'—the small dining club which was founded in 1764 by Sir Joshua Reynolds and Dr. Johnson, and which since then has included in its fortnightly dinners the great majority of those Englishmen who in many walks of life have been most distinguished by their genius or their accomplishments. He was elected to it in 1836, three years before Macaulay, and he became one of its most constant attendants. In 1841 '*The Club*' made him its treasurer, and he held that position for twenty-three years, and presided over the centenary dinner in 1864. He was also an original member of the Philobiblon Society, which has brought together many curious and hitherto unknown documents, and he wrote for it a short paper on Michael Scott the Wizard, who, as he showed, had been once offered the Archbishopric of Cashel. He was never a keen politician, but he was intimate with a long succession of leading statesmen, and he contributed to Sir Cornwall Lewis's '*Administrations of Great Britain*' a full and valuable letter on the relations of Pitt and Addington, which was largely based on his own recollections of the latter statesman.

London society in the middle of the century was much smaller and less mixed than at present, and there was then a distinctively literary or at least intellectual society which can now hardly be said to exist. The most eminent men of letters came more frequently together. Criticism was in fewer and perhaps stronger hands, and was to a larger extent representative of the opinions expressed in such social gatherings. In this kind of society Milman was long

a foremost figure. He had all the gifts that fit men for it—not only brilliancy, knowledge, and versatility, but also unfailing tact, a rare charm of courtesy, a singularly wide tolerance. He was quick and generous in recognising rising talent, and he had that sympathetic touch which seldom failed to elicit what was best in those with whom he came in contact. Few men possessed more eminently the genius of friendship—the power of attaching others—the power of attaching himself to others. In the long list of his intimate friends Macaulay, Sir Charles Lyell, and Sir George Cornewall Lewis were, we believe, conspicuous. Like most men of this type, he found the multiplying gaps around him the chief trial of old age. Not long before he died, there was an exhibition of contemporary portraits, but though Milman went to it he could not go through it. ‘When I found ‘myself,’ he said, ‘surrounded by the likenesses—often the ‘miserable likenesses—of so many I had known and loved, it ‘was more than I could bear.’

An admirable portrait by Watts which is reproduced in this volume will recall to those who know him his appearance in old age—his strong masculine features beaming with intelligence, his grand shaggy brows, his bright and penetrating eyes. An illness affecting the spine had bowed him nearly double, and there are still those who will remember how his bent figure seemed projected, almost like a bird in its flight, across the dinner table, while his eager brilliant talk delighted and fascinated his hearers. In his last years increasing deafness obliged him to narrow the circle of his social life, but he retained to the end all the vividness of his mind and sympathies, and when at length death came in his seventy-eighth year, it found him in the midst of unfinished work. His life was not of a kind to win wide popularity and to give him a conspicuous place among the great masses of his nation, but few English clergymen of his generation made so deep an impression on those who came in contact with them or have left works of such enduring value behind them.

ART. XI.—1. *The Queen's Speech on the Opening of Parliament, January 30, 1900.*

2. *Correspondence with the Presidents of the South African Republic and the Orange Free State respecting the War. Presented to Parliament March 1900.*

IN the time of the Crimean War the late Prince Consort stirred in no small degree the public mind by declaring that 'constitutional government was under a heavy trial,' and could only successfully pass through it if the country would grant a patriotic, indulgent, and self-denying confidence to Her Majesty's Government.* Nearly half a century later the Prime Minister, from his place in the House of Lords, questions the efficacy of the British Constitution as 'an instrument of war,' and mournfully suggests that with such a handicap the British nation can hardly expect that the beginnings, at least, of its military operations should be crowned with success.† Yet a survey of the history of Europe might well make us doubt whether Continental systems of government have in truth proved themselves much more efficient than our own even in the conduct of war, while *we* are saved from those civil and domestic dangers which in some countries attend almost as a matter of course upon reverses in the field.

In our recent difficulties that condition of success, so rightly postulated by the Prince Consort, has fortunately existed. The British people have been practically united in the desire to support the Government of the day in achieving complete and rapid victory over the forces of the two South African Republics. They grudge no sacrifices of men or money which may be necessary for this purpose. They ask only to be led to victory, and to be shown how best to place the whole Empire in a position of impregnable defence. So strong, indeed, has run the popular feeling of the moment in the direction of strengthening Her Majesty's Government that there has been some danger lest the voice of criticism and free comment, which it is never wise or safe to dispense with, should be altogether silenced.

The situation in which the country has found itself has been a grave one. Our arms had received the most

* Speech at the Trinity House, June 1855.

† Speech of Lord Salisbury in the Debate on the Address in the House of Lords, January 30, 1900.

unexpected checks, and the public mind has been filled with anxiety. Under these circumstances the country and the Houses of Parliament have rallied in a fashion rarely before seen in support of the Government of the day. We rejoice at it, without however at all sharing what is apparently the view of a large portion of the public represented by articles and letters in newspapers, and by the thoughtless talk of 'the man in the street,' that free political discussion and debate from various standpoints, which is, of course, the very life and soul of our parliamentary system, need be or ought to be suspended. It is against the conduct of the House of Commons especially, that during the stress of war, and in the excitement of the public mind necessarily accompanying it, these censors of the Constitution have directed their indignant remonstrances. To take some of these critics literally, and to follow out their reasoning logically, would lead us at once to the appointment of a Dictator. Political criticism, if it is to be permitted at all, is in their view to be reserved for anonymous writers in the press. It is, it seems, the privilege of the newspapers in a country happy in a 'free press' to discuss great questions of policy, other debate being superfluous—to decide, for instance, upon peace or war. It is the humbler, but necessary, function of the House of Commons to provide, either in silence or amidst an unbroken chorus of praise of the Administration, sufficient supplies to carry out the policy thus decreed!

In sober truth the House of Commons and Parliament have upon their shoulders little or no responsibility for the policy of the war, good or bad, in South Africa. Indeed, it is believed by some very competent judges of parliamentary opinion that had the session of 1899 continued without interruption throughout the months of August and September no war would have taken place. However this may be, there can be no doubt that during July the prevailing sentiment among responsible members of Parliament on both sides of the House was that a prudent statesmanship and a conciliatory diplomacy would succeed in maintaining peace—that war would not, and ought not, to come about. The grievances of the Outlanders were great and undeniable, though they had been enormously exaggerated by the friends of the Chartered Company. They were productive of the greatest irritation, a feeling which was utilised by the extremists of both factions—Outlander and Boer—in South Africa, who wanted war, or

at least what was attainable only by war; and it was eminently desirable, in the interest of peace, that these grievances should be removed. Still, in July last, men seriously asked themselves whether war against the South African Republic was the wisest method of redressing those grievances, and of bringing about an improved state of things in South Africa generally. It seemed at that time that it was wise to consider not only the weight of the grievances, but the cost of the remedy. In short, the question then was, or seemed to be, whether war with the Republic would produce over and above its necessary cost in blood and money a great balance of profit, in an improved system of government in the Transvaal, in better relations between English and Dutch throughout South Africa, and in an increase of strength to the Empire.

We dealt six months ago with the diplomatic controversy which, while it lasted, exacerbated rather than allayed the irritation between the two Governments and nations, and finally broke down in war. Yet there is the greatest reason for doubting whether Messrs. Kruger and Joubert were in truth much more desirous of war than Lord Salisbury's Cabinet. That the invasion of Natal and Cape Colony was but part of a great Dutch conspiracy running through the whole of South Africa to drive the British into the sea has been alleged, but no evidence worthy of the name has been adduced in support of this portentous theory of the origin of the war, and it is not now generally credited. On the other hand it is clear that Kruger wished to make of the Transvaal an entirely free and independent sovereign state. That the Boers had been arming for years in view of a possible conflict with Great Britain had of course been long known to our Government and to all who had taken any interest in South African affairs. Captain Younghusband, in his excellent and impartial book,* has described how, on revisiting the Transvaal after the Raid, he found the Boers determined never again to be 'caught napping;' and it was in the years following the Raid that in the main the military preparations of the Boers were made. They believed, we imagine, that it was the deliberate policy of Mr. Rhodes to paint the whole of South Africa red, and that it was only by their own force of arms that this could be resisted. Our diplomacy unfortunately never succeeded in dispelling from

* 'South Africa of To-day,' by Captain Francis Younghusband, C.I.E. Second edition, London, 1899.

the suspicious Boer mind the belief that the treacherous schemes laid against their independence by the promoters of the Raid were secretly favoured by the Imperial Government, who would, they thought, have heartily welcomed its success. Popular feeling had, in truth, before the diplomatic controversy ended, become bitterly excited both in South Africa and at home, and it would have required very strong as well as peace-loving statesmen here and in the Transvaal to exercise the virtue of patience, to control the impetuosity of their countrymen, and to withstand the passion of the hour. Our own Government, indeed, up to the very last believed that President Kruger would yield to pressure and the fear of war. They were curiously ill-informed of the spirit which animated the Government and people of the Transvaal. To many of the English of Johannesburg that Government seemed nothing but a corrupt ring of adventurers, and the Boers a few thousand lazy loafers, whose heads had been turned by the much-magnified triumph won over a few English companies at Majuba Hill, and who would never stand up against a well-led division of the British army. There were Englishmen who knew the Transvaal and its inhabitants better than this, but they had not, like the voice of Johannesburg, the ear of the British people. These men at least were not surprised when, at the calling out of the reserves for service in South Africa, President Kruger, instead of being frightened into surrender, replied by his famous ultimatum, and crossed the frontier of Natal; and so it came about that Parliament, prorogued in August in the sanguine belief in the continuance of peace, met again in October to vote supplies in a war already begun by the actual invasion of the dominions of the Queen.

From that time to the present the only questions in which the country has taken the slightest interest are the progress of the war and the military situation of Great Britain and the Empire. It has been, since October last, perfectly clear to British common sense that however much beforehand war was to be deprecated, however much it had been the duty of statesmanship to do its very utmost, consistent with honour, to avoid it, the struggle having once begun, it has become essential to our own continuance in South Africa as a Power at all that the overwhelming might of the Empire should be established by force of arms beyond all manner of doubt or question. It is true that there had been grievous misunderstandings and ill-founded suspicions on both sides, and that

the Boer people believed, with an intensity of conviction to which their resistance has been a witness, that recourse to arms was the only method by which they could preserve their much-prized national independence. Nevertheless, the question once put to the test of war, and in the last resort so put by the Boers themselves.—Who is the stronger, Boer or Briton?—there can, it is clear, be no possibility of stable equilibrium in South Africa (we say nothing of the stability of the British Empire) till that question has been answered unmistakeably and once for all.

It is only fair to the Government to recollect when their unpreparedness for war is alleged against them that in October last their preparations were on such a scale as to surpass the expectations not only of the general public but also of those who were supposed to have special information on all South African questions—their military advisers, Mr. Rhodes, indeed all men. The Cape and Natal Governments realised perhaps more accurately than other people, what a terrible thing war would be for all concerned. In England the general belief was that our forces had been provided on such a very large scale in order to make a rapid end of all resistance, and so lessen the effusion of blood! Why was it that we all of us held so cheap the martial strength of the Boer nation? The Boers, it was said, and with truth, had no regular army, while the whole Dutch population of the Transvaal, with women and children, was estimated at about 150,000 at the outside—less, therefore, than that of many medium-sized English towns such as Portsmouth or Cardiff. How could the farmers of the veldt and the shopmen of Pretoria and Johannesburg possibly resist for many weeks together the army of 75,000 highly disciplined and splendidly armed troops which before the end of November had arrived in Cape Colony and Natal from England and India, under the command of the ablest generals it was in the power of the Government to select? So far as has been yet ascertained, the information supplied to the Government by the Intelligence Department was substantially accurate as to the material strength, i.e. as to the numbers of men the two republics could put in the field against us, and the character and quantity of their equipment. In 1898 that Department had printed for private circulation a book (of which a fresh edition was printed only last June) in which the number of men in the Transvaal liable for service was reckoned at 31,000, including the police, and in the Orange Free State at 20,000, or 51,000 in all, and 4,000 were estimated as the sort of number

who might come to the aid of the Boers from across the British frontier and from foreign countries. They carried the Mauser rifle, but were unprovided with bayonets or other arms for hand-to-hand fighting. As to ordnance, in 1898 our Government was informed that the Transvaal possessed sixteen Creusot 15 c. guns, and in June last twenty-one 37 millimètre automatic guns, and nine 75 millimètre guns, all ranking as field guns, and four howitzer 4.7 guns, and that in September last eleven more 75 millimètre guns were introduced, while the Orange Free State had two batteries, or twelve 75 millimètre guns, or 73 guns in all, and there were besides some dozen and a half of old guns of various patterns in the country before 1891.*

According to the military authorities consulted by the Government—including, it need scarcely be said, every eminent soldier acquainted with South Africa—the measures taken in the first instance were amply sufficient, first to protect Natal and ultimately to defeat any armies the Republics could put into the field. Yet when Parliament met at the end of January, nearly four months after the issue of President Kruger's ultimatum, the Boer forces were not only unvanquished but were still in the occupation of wide districts of British territory, they had captured nineteen British guns, and had caused a loss to our forces in killed, wounded, and missing of about 10,000 men. In February, when Mr. George Wyndham made his statement in the House of Commons on the military situation, the British army in South Africa, with the South African levies and the Colonial contingents, numbered nearly 200,000 men; yet Ladysmith, and the large force which held it, remained closely invested after several vigorous but vain attempts by Sir Redvers Buller to relieve it, and the fate of Kimberley and Mafeking seemed hardly more hopeful. This assuredly was war of a very different kind and on a very different scale from what had been contemplated by the Government and their advisers, civil and military, in South Africa and at home. The public in each country had naturally gone far beyond the Government in the lightness of heart with which it welcomed the prospect of war. Neither among the British nor the Boers, by the end of September last, had counsels of patience or of peace much chance of obtaining a hearing. War had, indeed, then become inevitable, not

* See Speech of Mr. Wyndham in the debate on the Address in the House of Commons, February 1, 1900.

because the conditions of the controversy made conciliation or compromise impossible or very difficult, but because of the heated passions of the hour. In different ways, but to each contending nation, has the war proved a very different matter from what was anticipated. For us ultimate victory was always certain. But we had not counted the cost of winning it, nor weighed beforehand its probable value when won. The ignorance of the vast majority of the Boers misled them both as to the cause of the war and its inevitable issue.

It was natural enough that the British public, listening only to what it wished to hear, should have heartily despised the apparently puny strength of the enemy and have looked forward to a rapid and victorious march to Pretoria. The Orange Free State having joined the Transvaal was a circumstance which would greatly facilitate this march—so it was said in the confident humour of last October. But how comes it that the Government and the military experts, accurately informed, as we have seen, of the strength in men and matériel of the enemy, should have miscalculated so completely his power of resistance? Seldom indeed have the resources of an enemy been better known to his opponent before the outbreak of war than (thanks to Sir John Ardagh and the Intelligence Department) were those of the Boers to British statesmen and soldiers. Why, then, this misreckoning as to the use our enemy would make of his comparatively limited resources? It is said with truth that the country round Ladysmith, and the country through which our troops under Lord Methuen fought their way almost to Kimberley, were eminently suited for defence by such forces as the Boers possessed; but the country was well known to us beforehand, and many of our soldiers had had practical experience of campaigning in Natal. What was under-estimated in all forecasts was the fighting capacity of the Boer himself. We knew all about his arms, and his armament, and his country, and our country; but after all, in spite of all the changes introduced into modern warfare, national strength depends upon the character and quality of the men who wield the arms and the spirit that moves them, and in the Boers we have found an enemy, not indeed forming a drilled and highly disciplined army, but which is a veritable nation in arms, animated with the passionate belief that it is fighting for its national existence and independence. A large and difficult country, inhabited by men such as these, all history tells us, is not easily conquered.

Englishmen have been somewhat misled by hearing the Boer Government continually talked of as a mere 'oligarchy' of self-interested individuals who wished to keep all power to themselves. If that were all, the opposition of the Transvaal would very soon have crumpled into nothing. The South African Republic is, however, based on the most democratic and popular lines; and though during the last few years the gold mines have drawn into one district a very large and preponderating number of foreigners, and the Boers have become a minority, that has not extinguished the national sentiment or the democratic character that belongs to the older inhabitants of the country. In all probability there was much corruption in Pretoria in high place; but our mistake has been in not recognising that we had opposed to us something more formidable than the selfish interests of a corrupt gang of politicians, viz. the spirit of independence of a nation.

Strife between Great Britain and the South African Republic, after what had happened in the past, whatever the present cause of quarrel, and however just it might be, would necessarily become nothing less than a war for *the conquest of the Transvaal*. Now the attempt to subject by force of arms a people of European blood to British rule is an unpleasant as well as novel task upon which to expend the energies of Englishmen. This was no doubt one of many good reasons why coolheaded as well as patriotic Englishmen strove even to the date of the Boer ultimatum to avoid a war which they foresaw was clearly destined to bring many calamities to ourselves as well as to others in its train. Since war has come, it is now the duty of Englishmen first of all to make it completely successful, and secondly to draw from it the great object which the British nation have sought by it, viz. the establishment of wise, just, and equal government among the European inhabitants of South Africa. So far the first duty has absorbed all our thoughts and energies; but the second is now rising above the horizon, and it will be found in the long run to be the more difficult of accomplishment.

Nothing could have been better than the way in which the British nation took the great disappointments of the early months of the war. It could not but be that here and there unjust censure and ignorant criticism made themselves heard, and that the desire for a scapegoat took possession of the more feather-headed part of the community. One, two, or three ministers must be at once dismissed. Private

favour had caused the appointment of unfit commanders. Nay, one British general had, on the very eve of war, been actually intriguing with the enemy, or at least had purposely left British territory unprotected! But this excited and foolish language found no favour with the general public, and parliamentary debate in a very few days cleared the air, and brought to men's minds a far juster appreciation of the work that had been done by the Government and the War Department to meet the great and unexpected difficulties of the situation. Mere party criticism found hardly any place in public or parliamentary discussion. With the exception of the Irish Nationalist members the House of Commons was practically at one as to providing all the means asked for by the Government to bring the war to a victorious and rapid conclusion. The Opposition by way of protest brought forward and pressed to a division an amendment to the address condemning the Government for want of foresight and for mismanagement of the negotiations preceding the war, and then, having placed their view on record, proceeded to crowd into the Government lobbies in support of the very large votes for men and money which were asked for. Surely men must have little knowledge of English history who find in the events of the present Session an example of parliamentary factiousness, and must set but little value on the British Constitution if they find no place in it for criticism by a House of Commons Opposition!

It is quite certain that no Government carrying on unsuccessful war for any length of time can long remain in office. It must win or go. The want of success may not be attributable to any faults of the Government of the day; but assuredly it would be held responsible all the same for any prolonged failure of British arms. It is, for instance, clear enough that the three great reverses of the second week of December at Stormberg, Magersfontein, and Colenso were due to events on the field with which neither Government nor War Department had anything whatever to do. It has been the duty of the Government to repair our misfortunes, to call out and organise the power of the nation, and to restore as quickly as possible the shaken prestige of our arms. The House of Commons and the country were told by Mr. Wyndham in the debate on the address what measures had been taken, and were being taken, with this object; or rather with the double object, first of all of bringing the South African war to a satisfactory conclusion, and, secondly, of strengthening for the future the military

position of the Empire. Into the details of these proposals we do not intend on the present occasion to enter. We prefer to call the attention of our readers to some of the main lessons of the war, in their bearing on the general position and interests of the nation.

For four months it is hardly too much to say that our arms met with uniform want of success in the field. If the word 'defeat' ought not to be used of several severe actions in which we were engaged, it is certain that the objects for which those engagements were fought were not attained. Indeed, had the Boers possessed that mobility which it has been the fashion to attribute to them, had they shown as much capacity for pushing home their successes as in repelling the attacks of their enemy, our difficulties would have become veritable disasters. For certain purposes the Boers constitute in all probability as effective a fighting force as any army in the world. But they have the defects of their qualities; and on more than one occasion it was fortunate for the British generals in the field that they were not opposed by Frenchmen or Germans. Yet there is no reason for supposing that French or German troops, had they had *our* work to do, would have been one whit more successful than we were in the early months of the campaign; while it is quite certain that the transport of so great an army to so great a distance in so short a time was entirely beyond the power of any other nation. That an army of 180,000 men should have been landed in South Africa, without the loss of a single man, and that ammunition and stores and transport for so great a force should have been despatched, with only insignificant losses, from home and from distant lands, are great facts which loom large, we may feel confident, in the keen eyes of continental critics. To a nation not possessed of naval supremacy such things would be impossible. In our case they are an extraordinary demonstration of power and of organisation. We have been hitherto accustomed to regard ourselves as a nation powerful, perhaps all-powerful, in defence; supreme at sea, capable of reinforcing our troops, if need be, in India and elsewhere, and of sending an expeditionary force of a few thousand men to carry on those 'little wars' against African or Oriental nations in which we are so constantly involved; but we did not consider ourselves a great military power in the continental sense at all. Till the last few months we believed that our colonies stood in no need of the presence of Imperial troops. Why, then, should we require to have ready for service

across the seas so huge an army? The quarrel with President Kruger is bringing about consequences quite unconnected with South Africa. In result it may go far to alter the standpoint from which Englishmen regard the military problem of the Empire.

On the Continent an almost universally hostile press has been gloating over greatly exaggerated accounts of the checks and reverses to our arms, while it has pretended to believe that the military strength of the British Empire is a sham and a delusion, and that it had been reserved for what it describes as that brave little nation, the Boers, to 'prick the bladder'! No doubt owing to recent British victories, the continental press has somewhat changed its note. But, in all soberness, let us ask, has this war betrayed our weakness or revealed our strength? On the whole, in spite of many disappointments, of some mismanagement, of local and temporary failures due to an utter misreckoning of the difficulties to be encountered, a satisfactory answer can safely be given to the question. It may be that our policy has been to blame for generations past in limiting the scale of our military preparations, and in refusing to contemplate as a probability to be provided against the despatch over sea of a British army of 150,000 men. We do not say this is so, though it is clear that our present Government is to blame, along with its civil and military advisers in South Africa and at home, for not more correctly estimating the severity of the struggle on which the country was entering. The nation, in truth, was taken by surprise, when it should have been forewarned. But has the surprise found us lamentably deficient in military strength, and in means to repair an unhappy situation which should hardly have occurred? In our last number we referred to the military exigencies arising from the 'entanglements' of Ladysmith and Kimberley. The reverses of the middle of December served to put the nation on its mettle, and in a very few weeks, thanks to the patriotism of the people and the energy of the Government, the strength of the army in South Africa was more than doubled, and Lord Roberts began a campaign under infinitely more favourable circumstances than his predecessors. Nothing short of a surprise of this kind would have tested some parts of our system. There have been military critics in recent years who have treated even our 80,000 reservists as little better than a paper force! But that militia, volunteers, and yeomanry should come forward in tens of thousands for service with

the regular army in a far distant land, and should at once prove themselves capable and efficient soldiers, has been little less than a revelation. With an army of conscripts it is no easy task for a Continental nation to despatch troops to the remoter regions of the earth. With a military system based upon volunteering everybody wants to go!

When we endeavour to weigh the results of experience hitherto gained by the struggle in South Africa, we find little to justify the belief that changes in modern warfare are likely to tell against the security of the Empire. Not soon again, let us hope, shall we find ourselves engaged in the work of conquest with men of European blood for our foes. Our wars will probably be defensive wars, whether waged in Europe or elsewhere. The efficiency of irregular troops with modern weapons in defensive positions has been demonstrated. The Boer successes have been won by the rifle—it is hardly too much to say by the rifle alone—aided only by the spade. We have been taught by sharp experience how large must be an invading army which is to defeat even very limited numbers of irregular riflemen who know how to use their weapons and avail themselves of natural or hastily constructed defences. Do these lessons make us feel less competent to defeat an invading army at home or in India?

It is natural that uneasiness should be felt at the isolated position in which the country stands. Of the ill-will of every great continental nation, with the exception of Italy, it is unhappily hardly possible to doubt. True, the interest of every one of them lies in maintaining peace with Great Britain, and this is probably well understood by their rulers and statesmen. Unfortunately the history of the origins of war shows that enlightened self-interest has far less part in causing national strife than the jealousies, suspicions, and angry temper that take possession of men's souls. Peace, for instance, throughout South Africa was demonstrably the first interest of the British colonies and of the two republics, and was at least among the first interests of the British Empire. Yet a devastating war has been raging where all wise men saw the necessity of patience and the advantages of peace! So, perhaps, it may be in Europe, and it has been manifestly the duty of our Government to spare no expense and to strain every effort to bring this war rapidly to a satisfactory conclusion, lest the prolongation of British difficulties in South Africa should seem to offer to rival nations an opportunity of indulging their ill-will in some

more serious fashion than the vapourings of their daily papers.

During the first weeks of war we heard much of the terms which we should be ready to grant to our vanquished foes ; but, as the war went on, and as the severity of the struggle was better realised, men felt it was both more prudent and more dignified to achieve the victory before planning the disposal of its fruits. Lord Salisbury at the Guildhall on Lord Mayor's Day had said everything that needed saying in the early stages of the war. We were fighting, not to win for ourselves territory or gold, but to establish equal and just government among the Europeans of South Africa. We had to re-establish peace after victory, and to take security against its future disturbance. How this could best be done it would have been unwise and impolitic to discuss in detail in advance ; for it is clear that the measures to be taken must necessarily depend on the circumstances and conditions found to exist when the pacification takes place. A condition precedent to the spread of free and constitutional government throughout South Africa is the destruction of the military power of the two republics.

There never was any sense in the notion that when once the enemy had been driven out of British territory the war would change its character, and would henceforth become a war of sheer aggression on our part. On this misapprehension of the problem which war, if it is to do any good at all, must solve, is founded the policy of offering terms of peace to the two republics, on the basis of their independence, as soon as their troops have been expelled from British territory. Upon which side of the frontier the conflict is waged for the time being is in truth merely a matter of military exigency, and by itself has little bearing on British or Boer rights or upon the terms of pacification which it will be politic eventually to ask. The republics must abandon for the future and once for all the theory that they form separate nations, with the rights and powers necessarily belonging to nationhood, such as the possession and control of military forces, arsenals, and forts. So much is clear. The Orange Free State and the South African Republic must be brought within the Empire. But here the difficulty begins. Most thoughtful Englishmen would be glad to give the Dutch States, for our sakes as well as for theirs, the largest possible amount of local autonomy consistent with the peace and quiet of South Africa ; and will rejoice when it becomes possible for the Imperial factor

to have as little to say to the internal government of South Africa, as it now has to that of Canada or Australia. But that time has not come, and it will be the duty of the Imperial Power as soon as peace is established to start the new system under which the Dutch States are to be governed. The problem we have to solve is different in kind from anything we have yet attempted in our colonial empire. The Dutch States are accustomed to popular self-government based upon the most democratic lines. To govern such people on the system of a Crown colony could, of course, only be a temporary expedient till some form of local government based upon the instincts of the people should be established. To form them at once into self-governing colonies of the ordinary type would be to give them the very powers which all are agreed it would be dangerous to the general peace for them to enjoy. An Australian colony not only makes its own laws, but provides itself with what troops and what armaments it desires, and there is no difficulty in the case. But in the two Dutch States we make acquaintance with a new class of citizen—viz. with men of European blood who are British subjects *against their will*, and this necessarily introduces extreme difficulty into the working of popular government. Yet it is largely out of respect for the fundamental principle of democracy, equality of political privilege between man and man, that the British people has felt justified in the policy of war. Nevertheless it is impossible at once to apply to a conquered State, in its entirety and with success, a system of government which almost of necessity presupposes a free people.

The difficulties that have to be faced in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State are not the only ones that have to be faced in South Africa. It is useless to shut our eyes to facts, and the fact is that the war with the Republics has been largely regarded throughout the whole of South Africa as a civil war. How could it be otherwise, when father was ranged against son, and brother against brother? It is vain to suppose that the sympathies due to common race can be extinguished among the citizens of Cape Colony and Natal, or that with the bitter feelings left behind by the war between men of English and men of Dutch blood, free constitutional government will work altogether smoothly. Dutchmen are in a majority in Cape Colony. Under these circumstances, a peaceful and steady developement of local popular institutions into a great and loyal self-governing

South African Federation, under the British flag, though much to be desired, can hardly come about very rapidly.

The great successes in the field of the past six weeks have brought much nearer to our minds the immediate difficulties which will follow the re-establishment of peace. The great and rapid increase of our army, the brilliant strategy of Lord Roberts, and Lord Kitchener, and the never-failing valour of our troops have very quickly sufficed completely to turn the tables against the Boer forces. The relief of Kimberley, the capture of Kronje and his little army of 4,000 men, Sir Redvers Buller's entry into Ladysmith, and the capture of the Free State capital have of course convinced the whole world and our enemies themselves of the utter hopclessness of the Boer cause. It is now seriously questioned whether the two Republics have at any time had more than fifty thousand men under arms, and these constitute almost the whole manhood of the race; for among the Boer prisoners, and among the killed and wounded, there have been found numbers of old men and boys of fourteen and even less, whom excess or deficiency of years would have disqualified from service in any of the regular armies of Europe. Our enemy, let us frankly acknowledge it, has shown splendid courage, and has made an extraordinary resistance to our arms; but there could not from the beginning be a doubt in the minds of Englishmen as to the ultimate victory in a war between the two Dutch Republics of South Africa and the British Empire. How complete has been our military triumph may be judged from the fact that something like a quarter of the whole fighting strength of the nations opposed to us has been placed *hors de combat*; while the British troops in South Africa probably now number at least five times what remain of our foes. Under these circumstances, it seems improbable that our troops should have to encounter very much more continuous heavy fighting, though it is possible, if not very likely, that irregular and scattered resistance may be prolonged for a considerable period. Thus there is every reason to hope that peace is not far distant, that the work of our generals and our soldiers is almost done, and that the work of our statesmen will soon be resumed.

With whom then is peace to be made? Are its terms to be agreed upon by the representatives of both belligerents, so as to bind them both, after the usual fashion in which peace is re-established after war between civilised nations? or are the terms simply to be

dictated, and then enforced, by the conqueror? Hitherto the bounds of the Empire have often enough, after successful war, been enlarged by cession; and sometimes in this way a foreign population of European blood has become, against its will, subject to Great Britain; but in these cases the defeated sovereign has handed over to the victorious sovereign the allegiance and territory of his former subjects, and the settlement is thus in some sort regularised. Thus Canada was ceded to England, Alsace and Lorraine to Germany. In the case of the Orange Free State there has of course been no question of 'suzerainty,' and even as regards the Transvaal the 'suzerainty,' or at least the meaning of that term, has since 1884 been highly disputable. The citizens of the two States assuredly owed no allegiance to the Queen, and they cannot therefore be regarded in any legal or constitutional sense as 'rebels;' and we shall gain nothing by any attempt to pretend to ourselves that our rights henceforth over the Republics spring from anything but conquest pure and simple. Thus Lord Roberts, as Commander-in-Chief of the British Army, was able to declare Mr. Steyn no longer President of the Free State. That conquest must be the inevitable end of the war, should have made Presidents Kruger and Steyn accept almost any terms rather than embark on it; and, on the other hand, it was the perception of this necessary result of war that made so many Englishmen, who realised the difficulties which conquest would bring to South Africa and the Empire, ready to offer or accept almost any conciliation or compromise with President Kruger which would have promised an honourable peace. The war is not now in question; nor is the conquest. They are great and terrible facts of which account has to be taken. It is impossible to treat seriously the letters of the two Presidents asking that the independence of the two Republican States should now be recognised. The *status quo ante* has disappeared for ever, and the task imposed upon British statesmanship is how to make the conquest of the two Dutch Republics a success.

Never was statesmanship put to a severer trial; all the more severe in that the general public seems hardly able yet to grasp the difficulties that have to be surmounted. It is perfectly clear that henceforth the two Republics must be part of the Empire, and that citizens of these States must enjoy their rights, and liberties, and privileges, not by virtue of international agreement, but under the law and constitution of the Empire. Of this there must and can be no question.

The Republics have fought for their independence, and have fought well for it, but they have lost; and any attempt to set them up again as quasi-independent nations bound only by international conventions is out of the question. War, with all its horrors, has one merit. It makes an end, at least for a time, of many disputed theories and open questions. It shows unmistakably to all concerned where power lies, and this being once established it is possible to build on a sure foundation. Throughout the British Empire the almost universal feeling prevails—and we think, having regard to facts, that the sentiment is a right and just one—that South Africa, where it is not Portuguese or German, must be British. Subject to this, the more of autonomy that can be granted to the inhabitants of the newly acquired regions the better, for our sakes not less than for theirs.

It is after British supremacy has been settled that the real difficulties begin; and they will not be solved by mere appeals to anti-Boer or anti-Dutch feeling. This may do for English electioneering; but the British Cabinet has much more important work before it, and upon how they do it will depend their own credit for statesmanship and the future of South Africa. The British colonists of South Africa have deserved well of the Empire, and their interests must be duly safeguarded, but without establishing racial privilege. The problem before us is how to reconcile two jarring races inhabiting not the Transvaal and Orange Free State only, but the British Colonies as well. That the Imperial authority should make itself even in appearance the mere agent of anti-Dutch feeling in South Africa would be simply disastrous. It is sometimes inevitable, but it is always unfortunate when Imperial authority becomes tainted with the suspicion of being influenced by local faction; and the position becomes an almost impossible one where the constituted authorities of the colony and the majority of the local Parliament are in opposition to the representative of the Crown or the Colonial Office. It is but natural, and it is only to be expected, that a party in a minority should try to make the 'Imperial Factor' subserve its own ends; but were such an attempt to succeed, the knell of constitutional government would have rung. A parliamentary Government cannot even with extraneous support govern long against the will of Parliament; and unless British statesmen and the British people have unlearned all the lessons of their past history, they will hardly be induced by appeals to narrow racial feeling to enter upon the hope-

less task of governing South Africa from Downing Street in opposition to the sentiments of South African statesmen supported by the wishes and votes of the majority of their fellow-citizens.

As to the two Republics, it is clear that for a limited period after the conclusion of the war the country will have to be administered under military authority. In this way only will it be possible for a firm and just rule to prevail. Any attempt to convert the hitherto purely Dutch rule into an exclusively Uitlander rule would only serve to aggravate the bitter feelings which the war must inevitably leave behind it; and it would certainly be productive of the greatest injustice towards the vanquished people. The Boers of the Transvaal have not, from their experience of Mr. Rhodes and his friends, or their knowledge of Johannesburg, acquired an exalted notion of the aims and methods of British South African politicians. Their view may have been an unenlightened and mistaken one, but they have undoubtedly believed all along that for them British supremacy meant the rule of the gold speculator, the fastening upon them the domination of Mr. Rhodes. It will be our first duty to prove to our new subjects that they are regarded as fellow-citizens with ourselves within the British Empire, and are to enjoy at the earliest possible moment all the privileges of British citizenship. To this end it is essential that the first representatives of Imperial authority in the two States should be well chosen; and more, probably, will depend upon the personality of the first administrator of the annexed territories than upon the details of the system to be administered.

With the peace a new era will begin for South Africa, and to give a new system a fair chance we shall have to start it with new men. It could not but be that the most bitter memories of the war would attach to those responsible for it, whose duty it has been to carry it through. It must be remembered that the war, or rather the policy which they believed would make war inevitable, was strongly disapproved by the colonial ministries, the authorised advisers of the Crown in South Africa. Colonial feeling has since run so strong, that to be conscientiously opposed to the policy of the war has there been accounted disloyalty. Even in England, with less excuse, there has been a sentiment of the same kind. With peace let there be an end to this nonsense! It would have been strange—we go further and say it would have been unnatural—had there not been among

large numbers of British subjects of Dutch blood a feeling of some sympathy with their kinsmen in their death struggle for independence; for it was for independence that the Boers *believed* themselves to be fighting. The trial to the loyalty of our Dutch fellow-subjects has been a very severe one, and on the whole the vast majority of them have stood the trial well. Now we have to show that the British Colonies are not to be 'run' in the interest of a single race. We have before us the precedent of the French Canadians, a population far less fitted to blend into common nationhood with Scotchmen and Englishmen than are the Dutchmen of South Africa. In North America the situation has often required, and still requires, tactful and considerate management. There the Prime Minister of the Dominion is of French blood, a circumstance that gives the best possible proof that racial ascendancy has no foothold in Canada, and that has on more than one occasion proved highly beneficial to the interests of the Empire. A real equality of citizenship—an equality that is felt, not merely proclaimed—and the founding of party divisions on other than racial grounds can only come about with time and patience. Is it too much to expect mutual forbearance on the part of South African party leaders, whether representative of the South African League or the Africander Bond? Of one thing we are certain, that it would be an evil day for the connexion of South Africa with the Empire, were Imperial authority to enter into the strife of local parties, and to lend an ear to counsels which might even *seem* to threaten the independence of colonial parliamentary government. When passions run high, as they must do in South Africa after the conclusion of such a war, violence is not unlikely to be represented as patriotism, of which anti-Dutch sentiment is to be the test. From these excesses statesmen have to keep the 'Imperial Factor' free. It will be for them to guard the independence under the Crown of colonial self-government.

The policy of equal treatment of British subjects, irrespective of race, has been amply vindicated in the history of recent troubles. Had the administration of government in the Cape Colony and Natal been in the hands of an 'English oligarchy,' which would have united against it every freedom-loving citizen of Dutch race, the course of events would have been very different. We do not wish, and it is not in our power, permanently to keep any of our great self-governing colonies within the Empire by military

force. The largest empire the world has ever seen is held together upon very different principles, principles from which English statesmen would not dream of departing. The only risk, such as it is, to the ultimate retention of South Africa within the Empire, lies in the permanent alienation of British citizens, whether of Dutch, foreign, or British blood, from the Imperial connexion. This is the danger which it is the great duty of our statesmen at home, and of their representatives in the various colonies, to reduce to a minimum. Patience and prudence and a good deal of moral courage will be required; but without these qualities our great Colonial Empire would not have been built up, and without them it will not be retained. •

Though every week that passes evidently brings peace on our own terms nearer and nearer, little advantage is to be gained by the propounding of specific schemes for the government of the new provinces. There must be a limited period devoted to the work of restoring a sense of security and order before any permanent system can possibly be got to work. During this period the Government will have time to study the reports and hear the views of men directly acquainted with these countries, and with a real knowledge of their inhabitants. It is all-important that Imperial authority should then be represented by some one who understands, and is understood by, the people whom we have to rule—unfortunately, for the time being, against their will—a man of firmness and of tact combined, in whose sense of justice the conquered may have as much confidence as the conquerors, and whose ambition it will be to make men forgive and ultimately to forget (if that be possible) the injuries and the memories of so terrible a war. People speak as if the adoption of some specific ‘settlement’ will at once make an end of South African troubles! A settled state of things can only come about by the reconciliation of jarring races, and complete reconciliation can only be the work of years, perhaps of generations. What is infinitely more important at present than the details of any plan of settlement is the spirit in which we set about our task. Our statesmen have declared again and again that ‘their hands have been set to the plough,’ and that they would not rest from their labour till their work had been accomplished. It would be a poor compliment to British statesmanship to suppose that its work was complete with the mere triumph of British arms. No! the end it has in view is the building up in South Africa

of a great, free, self-governing dominion under the British flag, worthy to take its place side by side with the other great colonies of the Empire. When peace comes let us hear no more of 'pro-Boer' or 'anti-Dutch;' and let us remember that it was for equal privileges of citizenship among the European races in South Africa that the war was in great measure fought. Great difficulties have to be surmounted before the end is attained, but that end is a noble one, and worth fighting for; and for our part we refuse to believe that it will not, with firmness and patience on the part of our statesmen, at last be won. To feel otherwise would be to think that all the bloodshed and misery of the war, so far at least as South Africa is concerned, have been in vain.

The war is, however, producing consequences of much importance outside South Africa. It has stirred to the very heart the whole Empire, which for the first time has proved its sense of its own unity, and its common allegiance to the throne and flag, by taking its share in bearing the burdens and winning the laurels of war.

'What do they know of England
Who only England know?'

asked Mr. Rudyard Kipling, full of the sense of pride that cannot but fill the heart of every British traveller who visits his countrymen beyond the seas. Even home-keeping Englishmen now realise the Empire as they have never done before. The Empire has shown itself *one*, not only in sentiment, but in deed—a great fact in the present and future of the world! In Great and in Greater Britain the sinking of all differences between men of every class and creed and political opinion in the sole desire and determination to make the country win at any cost of life or money, in the face of unexpected difficulties, has been the most striking event in the politics of recent years, and has been full of instruction for others as well as for ourselves. The Queen, as usual in the fullest sympathy with her subjects, has represented this sentiment of unity and patriotism to men of every race who own her sovereignty. So far at least the spirit of 'Imperialism' is surely good.

So deep and so strong a wave of feeling cannot have passed over the country without leaving permanent effects behind it. For the time being 'party' has been annihilated, but *that* condition of public opinion will not last. When again party spirit revives it will largely have shaken itself

free from old trammels, and new questions derived from more recent emotions will take the place of the decaying 'platforms' of the past. Even before the war Home Rule was dead. It has been difficult for some time for the one party to flog the dead horse, and, to tell the truth, not very easy for the other party to fight him. Leading statesmen recognise the new position of affairs, and Lord Rosebery proposes to construct out of the ruins of Gladstonianism a 'Liberal Imperialism,' of which the distinctive marks have not yet been divulged to the public. Mr. Gladstone, it will be observed, not less than Home Rule, is dead and buried.

The merit of 'Imperialism' clearly depends upon what is meant by it and what is done with it. Our national safety lies in our strength and in the knowledge of the whole world that we can defend ourselves. So far we are all 'Imperialists.' But we want the whole world to recognise also that we are not actuated by unjust or aggressive aims; that we love peace, that the interest of the British Empire lies in peace, and that we have no intention of abandoning the counsels of three generations of statesmen in order to enter upon a rivalry of military ambition with the great powers of the world. We do not wish to rest our peaceful relations with the rest of Europe *merely* upon the fear of our power. Our statesmen have to see that our national character and good name are also held in respect.

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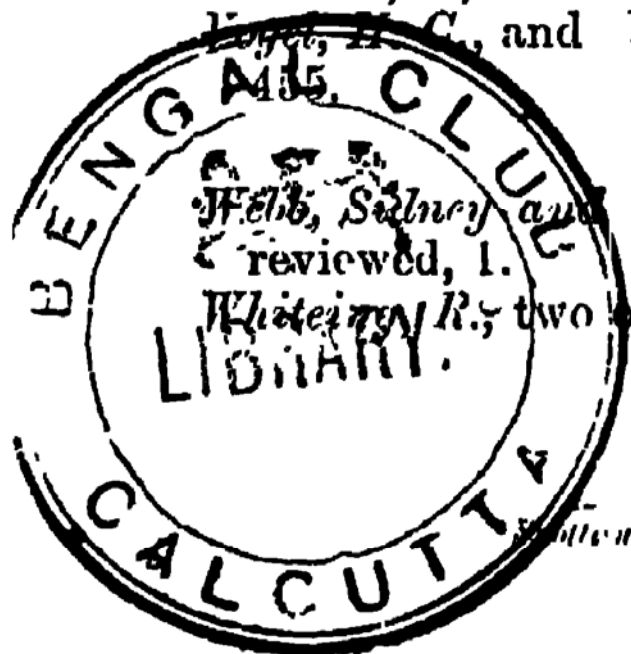
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31	2 2 6	2 13 9	3 0 9	3 13 1	4 18 5	40 0 6	31								
32	2 3 5	2 14 8	3 1 9	3 14 2	4 19 11	40 12 8	32								
33	2 4 6	2 15 7	3 2 9	3 15 5	5 1 6	41 5 8	33								
34	2 5 7	2 16 8	3 3 10	3 16 8	5 3 2	41 19 4	34								
35	2 6 10	2 17 9	3 5 0	3 18 0	5 5 0	42 13 9	35								
36	2 8 2	2 19 0	3 6 3	3 19 6	5 6 11	43 8 11	36								
37	2 9 8	3 0 3	3 7 7	4 1 0	5 8 11	44 4 7	37								
38	2 11 3	3 1 7	3 8 11	4 2 5	5 10 11	45 0 7	38								
39	2 12 11	3 3 0	3 10 5	4 4 0	5 13 0	45 17 0	39								
+40	2 14 9	+3 4 6	3 11 11	4 5 8	5 15 0	46 14 0	+40								
41	2 16 8	3 6 1	3 13 7	4 7 6	5 17 3	47 11 7	41								
42	2 18 8	3 7 10	3 15 4	4 9 5	5 19 6	48 10 4	42								
43	3 0 11	3 9 8	3 17 3	4 11 6	6 2 1	49 9 2	43								
44	3 3 3	3 11 9	3 19 4	4 13 8	6 4 8	50 10 3	44								
45	3 5 9	3 14 0	4 1 7	4 16 2	6 7 7	51 11 5	45								
46	3 8 5	3 16 6	4 4 1	4 18 9	6 10 8	52 13 5	46								
47	3 11 5	3 19 2	4 6 9	5 1 8	6 14 2	53 17 0	47								
48	3 14 8	4 2 1	4 9 9	5 4 10	6 17 10	55 1 5	48								
49	3 18 1	4 5 3	4 12 11	5 8 2	7 1 10	56 6 5	49								
50	4 1 7	4 8 7	4 16 3	5 11 8	7 6 1	57 11 9	50								

[The usual non-participating Rates of other Offices differ little from these Premiums.]

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